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THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS

PLATE I. KĀLACAKRA DANCER. Leader of the twelve months, who guides the shifts until they return to the original place and the cycle is complete.
(20 March, 1970) (Dharamsala, India)

The Buddhist Tantras

LIGHT ON INDO-TIBETAN ESOTERICISM

by Alex Wayman

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To Hideko
Who has always encouraged
my essays

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PREFACE

This work is prepared from my previously published articles in the field of the Buddhist Tantra plus new studies especially made to round out the material for a reasonably integrated volume. It has particular contact with two previous books in the tantric field: *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*, translated by F. D. Lessing and Alex Wayman (Mouton, 1968), which I refer to as *Mkhas grub rje's*, and my *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra: the Arcane Lore of Forty Verses* (the publication of which is going forward in Calcutta,—which I refer to as *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*. *Mkhas grub rje's* is written by a Tibetan proficient in the Tantra on behalf of his Tibetan disciples. The *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* is a synthetic commentary on forty verses written by myself as a Westerner and is almost completely based on the *Guhyasamājatantra* and commentarial literature in that lineage. In contrast, the present work goes further than the last one named in communicating varied aspects of the Buddhist Tantra to Westerners by researches based on texts sometimes using the *Guhyasamājatantra* lineage, but with special reliance on what are called the lower Tantras, and in the case of the fourth or highest class of Tantra with frequent utilization of the Mother Tantra (*Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra*, and *Kālacakra*), besides by more contact with the living tradition. That is why the present work is mainly different, both in content and in organization, from my two previous book engagements with the vast Buddhist Tantra literature. I also have under active preparation two other works in this field: Tibetan Miniature Paintings based on the Lessing manuscripts, which deals with the Buddhist Tantras principally in terms of individual deities, and Minor Buddhist Tantra Texts, with relatively brief but important texts in full translation. All those works, whether

published or in press or preparation have a common method which is the [illegible] of presenting [illegible] about the Tantra to authoritative expositions by the practitioners of Tantra.

I am pleased to express appreciation to the following journals, publishers, or agencies for permission to reproduce [illegible] articles or parts of articles: [illegible] Bhaktabar Memorial Research Institute, Poona (Golden Jubilee Volume) for [illegible] Tantra; [illegible] Tantra; [illegible] Dressing Methods in Buddhist Iconography; [illegible] Tantra; [illegible] The Tibetan Book of the Dead; [illegible] Bhagavan and Disciples; [illegible] Education of Desire; Aurelia Mascarenhas; [illegible] Paris (Guimet); [illegible] Mademoiselle Lalou for [illegible] Madame Palmier; [illegible] Université de Paris; [illegible] for [illegible]; University of Otago Press; [illegible] Tantra; [illegible] Tantra; [illegible] Buddhism and Tantrism; The [illegible] Society of Indian Culture, New Delhi; [illegible] Mandala.

[illegible] and [illegible] kindness. Mrs Margaret [illegible] and [illegible] Professor Raymond D. Lessing, which have [illegible] valuable material for the present book, especially the photographs and texts [illegible] the Lamaist temple of Peking, the Yung Ho Kung. These materials account for the Plates [illegible] and [illegible]. The [illegible] after which the [illegible] Tara, and Buddhadhara drawings were executed by Mr. Osamu Yoshida.

The American Philosophical Society deserves thanks for its support of my [illegible] in Spring [illegible] the expense purpose of this book, for [illegible] Kalacakra [illegible] Dharmaraja. My [illegible] of [illegible] which secure a [illegible] for ancient texts. Plates [illegible] and [illegible] are after photographs taken by my wife and myself during that ceremony.

There are [illegible] for the studies herein reproduced. Since [illegible] the overwhelming [illegible] aspect for the Buddhist Tantra [illegible] be evident. There are a number of references [illegible] Sanskrit and Tibetan [illegible] at the University of California, Berkeley from studies beginning in the

early 1950's. The Tohoku catalogs to which I refer in connection with notes from these sources are described in my article 'Female Energy ..." (note 1). There are also many references by 'PTT' (with volume, page, and page folio number) to the Japanese photographic edition of the Peking Tibetan Buddhist canon (Kanjur and Tanjur) and including Tsoń-kha-pa's works. I used this edition after it was purchased by The University of Wisconsin, and eventually assembled a large collection of reproduced texts from this edition by the kind access to an excellent duplicating machine of the University-Industry Research Program Madison, Wisconsin. I at I make much use of these duplicated texts with the added convenience of being able to make notes on the pages. Moreover, I use some texts of my own—preeminently for this book Tsoń-kha-pa's *Shags rim chen mo* (which I often refer to as the *Shags rim*) in the Peking popular blockprint this is his great compendium on the Buddhist Tantras. Besides, it was necessary to consult some further canonical works to complete the present book, and I have accordingly made some use of the Narthang edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur, now conveniently accessible at Columbia University

For ease of combining the various published essays with further studies in the present form, I usually omit the original texts, Sanskrit and Tibetan, such as face the translation of *Mkhas grub rje's* and are abundant in *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* as well as in my various published articles over the past twelve years. These omissions not only facilitate the reading of this book but also allow my transition from a former transcription of Tibetan to the Library of Congress transcription system. In all cases, references are given so that persons who wish may consult the original texts.

Finally, for the mechanics of issuance, I must thank Mr Donald Weiser for his interest in publishing this book and the expeditious manner of his handling it.

I

INTRODUCTIONS

The great goddess located in the heart,
Causing the yogin's yoga -
The Mother of all the Buddhas -
Is called Queen of the Diamond Realm.

Sarvarahasya-tantra, verse 45.

1

PERFECTION OF INSIGHT, BUDDHIST TANTRA WITHIN MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM

"Perfection of Insight" is the translation of the term *prajñāpāramitā*, but not here employed in its sense of a certain body of Buddhist literature, namely the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures. The present discussion of *prajñāpāramitā* will show that it is through misunderstanding the role of this faculty that the status of Buddhist Tantra has been falsely explained, as though Mahāyāna Buddhism and Tantra under the name of Mantrayāna are two distinct and different things.

This is not to deny that if one takes tantric practices historically in the sense of obscure cults which probably existed in India before even the rise of early Buddhism, those are essentially different from Mahāyāna. But also such obscure cults are different from what we now have as Buddhist Tantra, in terms of Tantric literature and associated practices. That is to say, both the Hindu Tantras and the Buddhist Tantras have thoroughly integrated those obscure cults into sectarian forms. The Buddhist Tantras are so imbued with Buddhist terminology, namely of Mahāyāna Buddhist variety, that it is necessary to first study Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in its formal presentation in the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools, otherwise one would be trying to find some mystical tantric meaning in an obscure phrase which in fact is clear enough when recognized as a Buddhist tenet from the Abhidharma literature or from those two Mahāyāna schools. Therefore, it is completely pointless to say, as some critics do, that the Buddhist Tantra is based on degenerate cults but that in some works the monks cleaned and tidied them up to give them a respectable form. Since the Tantra is essentially a practice, with incantations,

breath control, and so forth, one must evaluate it by the way it is, as set forth in its principal revealed scriptures, authoritative commentaries, and actual practice as can still be observed (for example, among the Tibetans in India).

According to passages cited by Tsoń-kha-pa in the introductory section of his work on the stages of Tantra called *Sngags rim chen mo*, the Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) has two divisions: the *prajñā pāramitā* method (that part of Mahāyāna which is not tantric) and the *mantra* method (the strictly tantric part of the Mahāyāna). In his quotation (folio 12b-4) from the Kālacakra work *Vimalaprabhā*, these two wings of the Mahāyāna are termed "cause" and "effect". But also the Diamond Vehicle (Vajrayāna), so called because the diamond is unsplittable and unbreakable, can be considered the Vehicle that incorporates both the *prajñāpāramitā* side (the "cause") and the *mantra* side (the "effect"). Therefore the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas (who are the Mahāyāna saints) has two degrees: first the perfection of insight (*prajñāpāramitā*) and then the practice of mantras, initiation in the *maṇḍala* etc. To observe this in a textual way, the reader may refer to the final section of this work for the "Outline of the Three Great Bodhi Mārgas", and notice how this compendium first gives the non-tantric background for the Tantras, and then the Tantras. Tsoń-kha-pa introduces further terminology (folio 12b-4) with a passage from the *Sekoddeśa*:

> Holding the form of the void is the cause,
> The fruit is the adherence to incessant compassion.
> The indissoluble union of voidness (*śūnyatā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) is called "mind of enlightenment" (*bodhicitta*).

At 7b-1 he quotes the Tantra called *Vajrapañjara* (Chap. One), as follows (my numbers):

> (1) If the void were the means (*upāya*), then there would be no Buddhahood, because the fruit would not be different from the cause. The means is not voidness.
> (2) Voidness has been taught by the Buddhas to ward off the adherence to a self on the part of those who have gone astray through views and of those who seek the view of self.
> (3) Hence the binding as the means of ecstasy is called the *maṇḍala*-circle. The yoga with pride of a Buddha is close to Buddhahood.
> (4) So he would accomplish with the means the thirty-two characteristics of the Teacher, along with the eighty minor marks of the Lord (*prabhu*). The means has the form of the Teacher.

Tsoń-kha-pa gives the key ideas of those four verses in their order: (1) rejecting the claim that exclusive contemplation of voidness is the means; (2) the requirement to teach voidness; (3) accompaniment of the great means which is not shared (with the Prajñāpāramitā way); (4) teaching reasons for requiring accomplishment with that means. The meaning of the *maṇḍala* as the unshared means is that, in the Prajñāpāramitā way, the means is the first five perfections, of giving, morality, forbearance, striving, and meditation, with the perfection of insight as the sixth. At folio 13b-5/6, he points out that the five perfections go with accomplishing enlightenment in three incalculable eons. When the *maṇḍala*-circle (of deities) is taken as the means, with ecstasy due to blending of the male and female deities, this shows *devatā yoga* (yoga of the deities) and produces divine pride (free from ordinary pride), which is the quick path to Buddhahood, that is to say, to acquirement of the two kinds of formal body (*rūpa-kāya*), the Saṃbhogakāya and the Nirmāṇakāya, in the present life. Therefore, those four verses from the *Tāra-pañjarā* are important for elucidating this fundamental position of the Buddhist Tantra, the quick path. According to Tsoń-kha-pa, the same ideas can be garnered from other Tantras.

But while the Mantra way differs from the Prajñāpāramitā way as concerns the means, and therefore differs as regards fastness and slowness in attaining the goal of Buddhahood, Tsoń-kha-pa points out at folio 9a-2 and by subsequent citation of Mahāyāna sūtras that there is no difference in terms of Prajñāpāramitā (perfection of insight) itself. He says (perhaps referring to Tibetan polyandry):

> A mother is the shared cause of the sons. A father is the cause of diversifying her lineages. In the same way, the Mother Perfection of Insight is the shared cause of the four Sons, while the cause of diversifying the great and lesser lineages of their vehicles is the means consisting in generating the mind (of enlightenment), and so forth.

That is to say, a difference in means (considered to be the father) diversifies the Hīnayāna into the Śrāvakayāna and the Pratyekabuddha-yāna, while another difference in means diversifies the Mahāyāna into Madhyamaka and Yogācāra. But the Perfection of Insight (considered to be the mother) is the same for all the four Sons, and in consideration of this Mother of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, such a scripture as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (The Lotus of the Illustrious Law) sets forth the thesis of One Vehicle.

This insistence that the Prajñāpāramitā of the "Prajñāpāramitā vehicle" and of the "Mantra vehicle" is the common Mother lets us conclude that even when Prajñāpāramitā is personified as a goddess and represented in tantric iconography in union with the Buddha, that is fact it is still the

same Prajñāpāramitā as is mentioned in the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures and in the various non-extra Mahāyāna scriptures. By saying this will undoubtedly not satisfy the critics, both within and without the fold of Buddhism, who denounce the Buddhist Tantras as a degenerate development in the late Buddhism. They will surely insist that it is a fine thing to read this from a book, but that in practice Tantras has a worship of the female element in a concrete form of the woman. The reader answer of course is that we cannot deny such practices in some lineages of the Tantra and that the secret Tantra by reason of metaphorical employment of words can be understood differently. But to be practical, it is passing strange that anyone would bother with the Tantra to satisfy his degenerate practice for who in best among worldly persons would desert his energies by muttering a *mantra* a hundred thousand times at dawn, noon, sunset and midnight, with fasting and other inhibitions to engage in a degenerate practice when as we know so well people at large engage in degenerate practices without bothering to mortify themselves at dawn, noon, sunset and midnight.

As one who certainly has never much use for symbolism in these and in books I must say that the Tantras with a big such symbolism is never be understood. The reader might ask, as a true seeker and judge, the whole work herein. In short, to appreciate what the Tantra advocates one must take it through an extended course, consult commentaries and gurus. This means spending some time with it, by the most [illegible] approach. He makes his snap judgement on the basis that among all subjects the Tantra is the most easy to judge. This will be one most study and [illegible] human [illegible] such as chemistry for years to [illegible] responsible [illegible] one does not have to work at Tantra for a whole day to speak about it.

So I shall repeat what Tsongkhapa said: that Prajñāpāramitā is the common Mother, and invite the reader to determine for himself if certain studies of a need in the present work have [illegible] extension. And for the meaning of Mother, as it be understood, that Prajñā is by no means a virgin, since from time immemorial, according to Buddhist teachings, mankind has been defiling his world which is their own image. Thus the course of *prajñā* is not, as in ordinary human terms, from innocence to loss of a pristine state, but rather from origin as [illegible] to be pure goddess state. The Buddhist *prajñā* is not, like the Hindu Sakti, the new power created by the gods to wrench havoc on the opponents, the Asuras, but [illegible] power [illegible] the gods, [illegible] the opposition [illegible] the gods. That is to say, the Hindu Sakti has a mythology, a basis, whereas the Buddhist *prajñā* is rooted in man's psyche as the original ingredient of every day thinking. In the Hindu theory, the gods have to come up with a new plan; in the Buddhist conception, man must

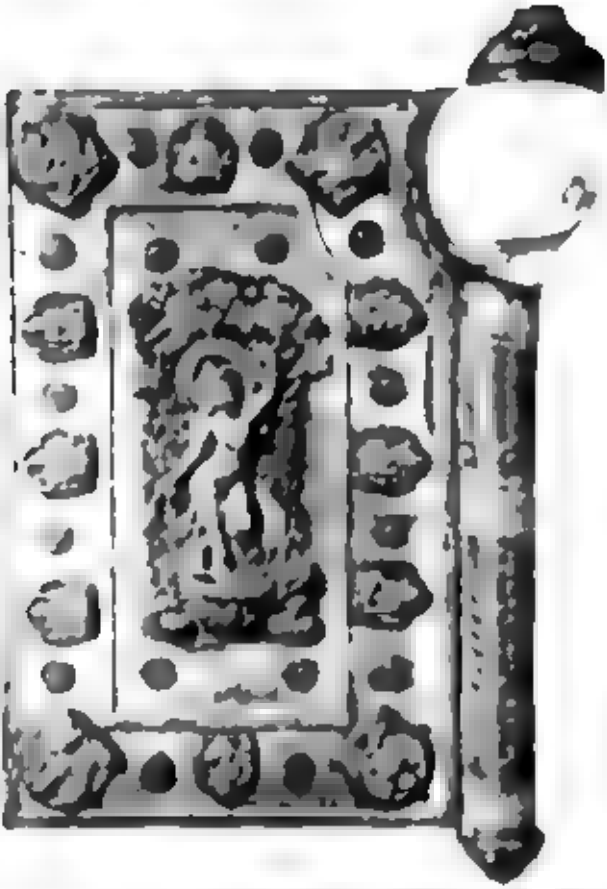

PLATE 2. The glorious Conch Shell [illegible] Buddha while holding [illegible]

find a new role for his capacities. In this light, the Hindu Śakti and the Buddhist tantric *prajñā* do have something in common, but it is not proper to identify them.

The thirty-seven natures accessory to enlightenment as goddesses

Perhaps there is no clearer example of the tantric goddess as accessory to enlightenment than the personification in the *Śrīcakrasaṃvara* tradition of the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣyā dharmāḥ* as goddesses. This identification is found in Luipā's *Śrī-Bhagavadabhisamaya-nāma* (Toh. 1427), and there could be no higher authority for this, since Luipā is among the most famous of the masters of the Mother Tantra. In utilizing his text as preserved in Tibetan translation in the Tanjur, it was helpful to take advantage of Abhayākaragupta's *Nispannayogāvalī* (as edited by B. Bhattacharyya), wherein is presented the Saṃbara-maṇḍala containing all the Sanskrit names of the principal deities of the *Śrīcakrasaṃvara-tantra*. It is of interest that the central deity, under the name Śrī-Heruka, is given the correspondence to "right samādhi" instead of his consort, but the obvious meaning is that he is here present with his female side, usually called Vajravārāhī (the Diamond Sow). The thirty-seven natures accessory to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya-dharma*) is an important feature of the path both for early and later non-tantric Buddhism. The identifications follow:

1. Station of mindfulness on bodies		Ḍākinī
2. Station of mindfulness on feelings		Lāmā
3. Station of mindfulness on natures		Khaṇḍarohā
4. Station of mindfulness on thoughts	—	Rūpiṇī
5. Base of magical power in longing	—	Pracaṇḍā
6. Base of magical power in striving	—	Pracaṇḍākṣā
7. Base of magical power in analysis		Prabhāvatī
8. Base of magical power in thought		Mahānāsā
9. Faculty of faith	—	Viramatī
10. Faculty of striving	—	Khasvarī
11. Faculty of mindfulness		Laṅkeśvarī
12. Faculty of samādhi		Drumacchāyā
13. Faculty of insight	—	Airāvat
14. Power of faith	—	Mahābhairava
15. Power of striving	—	Vāyuvegā
16. Power of mindfulness		Surābhakṣī
17. Power of samādhi		Śyāmadevī
18. Power of insight	—	Subhadrā

19. Samādhi limb of enlightenment		Hayakarṇī
20. Striving limb of enlightenment	—	Khaḍgānanā
21. Joy limb of enlightenment	—	Cakravegā
22. Cathartic limb of enlightenment	—	Khaṇḍarohā
23. Analysis-of-the-doctrine limb of enlightenment		Śauṇḍinī
24. Mindfulness limb of enlightenment		Cakravarmiṇī
25. Equanimity limb of enlightenment	—	Suvīrā
26. Right understanding	—	Mahābalā
27. Right conception	—	Cakravartinī
28. Right speech	—	Mahāvīryā
29. Right bodily action		Kākāsyā
30. Right livelihood		Ulūkāsyā
31. Right effort	—	Śvānāsyā
32. Right mindfulness	—	Śūkarāsyā
33. Right samādhi	—	Śrī-Heruka
34. Generation of the virtuous natures so far not arisen	—	Yamadāḥī
35. Protection of the virtuous natures that have arisen	—	Yamadūtī
36. Elimination of the sinful natures that have arisen	—	Yamadaṇḍinī
37. Avoidance of the sinful natures so far not arisen	—	Yamamathanī

That takes account of all the goddesses of the Saṃbara-maṇḍala, if we accept that Vajravārāhī is included in Śrī-Heruka, which of course is the meaning of their mystic union. Besides, all the goddesses have parental Buddhas. Nos. 1-4 are the *ḍākinī*-s under Ratneśa (= Ratnasaṃbhava). 5-12 are the Circle of Mind (*citta-cakra*) under Akṣobhya, and they range in the sky. 13-20 are the Circle of Speech (*vāk-cakra*) under Amitābha, and they range upon earth. 21-28 are the Circle of Body (*kāya-cakra*, under Śāśvata (= Vairocana), and they range beneath the earth. 29-32 and 34-37 are the Pledge Circle (*samaya-cakra*) under Amoghasiddhi, and 33 (the maṇḍala-lord) is under Akṣobhya, his Diamond Sow side is under Vairocana.

Tsoṅ-kha-pa (Lhasa Collected Works, Ta, *'dod 'jo*, 1 2a-4) explains Nos. 26-33 (the Eightfold Noble Path) in this context:

"Right understanding": Great devotion to the Word of the Buddha.
"Right conception": The errorless comprehension of its meaning, and not casting aside a project which is good to do.
"Right speech": Having words that do not deceive the sentient beings, and free from lies.

PLATE 1. Śri-Heruka, or Sambara (Previously published in Lessing, *Yung-Ho-Kung*).

"Right bodily action" Not transgressing the ten virtues in all that is done.
"Right livelihood" Living in a way that does not harm the sentient beings.
"Right effort" Performing the virtuous acts of bowing, circumambulating, etc.
"Right mindfulness" Being mindful of the Word of the Victor
"Right samādhi" With object of consciousness in the manner of Heruka

But we cannot leave this subject without alerting the reader to the multiple roles of these goddesses. For example, the *Abhidhāna-uttara-tantra* (PTT Vol. 2, p. 66-3) identifies the last four Bodhisattva Stages, for which see Table 18 in the present work, with the four *ḍākinīs* of the above list (Nos. -4) in respective order, which is their standard order The same Tantra identifies the first six Bodhisattva Stages with other *ḍākinīs*. Furthermore, reference to my Table 5 will show that four doorkeepers of the *Śri-Cakrasamvara maṇḍala*, namely Nos. 29-32, constitute in this given order with translation of names (Kākāsyā, She the Crow-Faced, and so on) the first four of the six members of the Stage of Completion. Nos. 34-35 (Yamadāhi and Yamadūti) are reversed as the last two of the six members. Right after Table 5 there is a different explanation for the remaining two Yama goddesses (Nos. 36-37). But *prajñā* herself appears in many roles and guises: the cleverness of the market place, the science of the laboratory, the wisdom of the age, a sword, a fire, a nymph.

2

EARLY LITERARY HISTORY OF THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS, ESPECIALLY THE GUHYASAMĀJA-TANTRA*

There are several reasons for discussing literary history of the Buddhist Tantras in general, while taking main evidence from the *Guhyasamāja* cycle. For one thing, the texts and commentaries of Tantric nature are replete with remarkable matters, intriguing to any scholar with the philological background to read them. Besides the inevitable "tantric secrets", there are numerous problems of Indian textual history to be solved to the extent these texts can be reliably dated in terms of centuries. Such an investigation is undoubtedly challenging, because the cult of Tantra, whether Hindu or Buddhist, has something of an anti-historical tone to it, by the very nature of esotericism.

When it is seen that these Buddhist Tantras are composed by taking a previous core reaching back into the Vedic literature and amalgamating this tradition with various Buddhist tenets, it appears that one should be able to assign a definite period of time for such synthesizing. And then here is a problem comparable to the dating of Upaniṣads and Purāṇas, because we hear a specious argument that it is possible to write such books at any time! Possible, yes, but not possible to furnish the feature of authority as when the Tantra is represented as a revelation of the supreme Buddha in the form of Vajradhara, not possible at any arbitrary time to have a text

* This article first appeared in *Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vols. XLVIII-XLIX (Poona, 1968), which may be consulted for the Tibetan and Sanskrit texts omitted here.

be the main communication of religious leaders and geniuses, part of a creative ebb, capable of arousing the faith, the concordant practice, and commentaria labor of great thinkers, as were the Upanisads in the sense in which we speak of the great Upanisads and the Upanisad literature. And while the group of Upanisads called the Yoga Upanisads are not the greatest of their class, they do bear the imprint of creative thinking of some period, whatever it may be, only prior to the composition of the "revealed" Buddhist Tantras, because those particular "sectarian Upanisads" have many remarks about centers in the body, mystic veins, and other materials, in typical Upanisad disorganization, that are noteworthy as constituting ideas incorporated in the Buddhist Tantras in more organized and *śāstra*-like form.

But, then, why especially the Guhyasamāja-tantra?[2] Any searching examination of this Tantric literature, mainly extant in the Tibetan language, leads the reader to notice a comparability of style of writing, repetition of certain incantations (*mantra*), overlapping descriptions of ritual practices, although it is true that certain groups of texts display much more of similar matter, a fact which led to the classification of Tantras, eventually, into the standard classes of Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, and Anuttarayoga tantras, by which the Tibetan Tantric canon is arranged.[2] Now I concern myself mainly with the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* simply because it is necessary to follow through at least one current in its various connections to see the picture with some clarity, and I happen to have done so with the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* through my research in writing a still unpublished work, *The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses: A Buddhist Tantra Commentary on the Guhyasamāja-mūlatantra-kārikā*. In a literary history introduction to this work I have argued that an Explanatory Tantra (*vidyādhara-tantra*) of the *Guhyasamāja* called *Vajramālā* was composed in the fifth century A.D., and the basic tantra *Guhyasamāja* probably in the fourth century A.D.

I. Dating of the Guhyasamāja

It would be well to summarize here the kind of reasoning I have employed in that manuscript to arrive at the approximate dating, as well as to add further considerations. First we notice that scholars are fairly well agreed about the dating of the named commentators on the *Guhyasamāja* cycle and the Tantra Siddhas generally. Leaving out the references, we observe that Saraha is a contemporary of King Dharmapāla (769-809). In

1. *The Yoga Upanisads*, tr. by T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar and ed. by G. Srinivasa Murti, The Adyar Library, 1952.
2. Cf. Alex Wayman, "An Visit of the Tantric Section of the Kanjur Correlated to Tanjur Exegesis," Part II of Chap. 16, below.

[illegible]

[illegible]

historical context

[illegible]

[illegible]

called the Stage of Generation or Production (*utpattikrama*) of the Anuttarayoga-tantra, especially in the terminology of three *samādhis* of Initial Praxis (*prathama-prayoga*), Triumphant Mandala (*vijayamandala*), and Victory of the Rite (*karma-vijaya*).

What is significant about the two commentarial traditions is precisely that there are two, with many differences within each of these traditions. Just as the Sautrantika and Vaibhāṣika of non-tantric Buddhism could not have arisen fully grown, in the form in which we know them, in the century immediately following the passing of the Buddha, so also the Ārya School and the Jñānapāda School could not have arisen in the century immediately following the composition of the *Guhyasamāja*, let alone the very same century! Indeed, any one who even partially surveys the *Guhyasamāja* literature as extant in Tibetan and notes the remarkable variance in explanation of a given passage of the basic Tantra, would experience at least a mild shock at the flimsy reasons given for a late dating of the *Guhyasamāja*. One example will be given to show what is meant, and this case is particularly chosen for a context where one would expect minimal variation between the commentaries because the expression to be explained is merely the "three kinds" of each sense object as mentioned without explanation in the basic tantra of *Guhyasamāja*, Chap. 7.

Ārya School

Nāgārjuna's *Tantratīkā* on *Guhyasamāja* (Derge ed., Sa, f. 103b-7) (form, the object of sight) has the nature of outer, inner, and both.[16]

Candrakīrti's *Pradīpoddyotana* on *Guhyasamāja* (Derge ed., Ha, f. 49a-5) (form, the object of sight), should be perceived and comprehended as inferior, intermediate and superior. In Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Mchan-bgrel* on the *Pradīpoddyotana* (PTT, Vol. 158, p. 55-3), we learn that the superior kind is the Buddha going with that sense object, e.g. Vairocana as form (p. 56-). Form is also of three kinds, pleasurable, repulsive or displeasing, and neutral.

Jñānapāda School

Prasannajñāna's *Upadeśa-nicaya* on *Guhyasamāja* (PTT, Vol. 63, p. 64-5): the three kinds are superior (lust), intermediate (delusion), and inferior (hatred).

Celu-pa's *Ratnavajra-nāma-raha-ya-samāja-ṭīkā* (PTT, Vol. 63, p. 183-5): inferior, intermediate, and superior.

Jinadatta's *Pañjikā-nāma* on *Guhyasamāja* (PTT, Vol. 63, p. 259-1): "Because one discerns it as having the nature of superior, and so on, there are three kinds, having the nature of outer, inner, and both, means "non-apprehension (*anupalabdhi*), so one

should understand it by the nature of three gates to liberation, of voidness, etc."

Ratnākaraśānti's *Kusumāñjali guhyasamāja-nibandha-nāma* (Vol. 64, p. 127-3): "the three kinds mean the respective offerings by the three kinds of yogins, the one of lust, of delusion and of hatred."

Smṛtijñānakīrti's *Sriguhyasamāja-tantrārdja-vṛtti* PTT, Vol. 66, p. 132-3): "The "three kinds" means that one knows (the object) as the three gates to liberation, the signless, etc."

Ānandagarbha's *Sri-guhyasamāja-mahātantrārdja-ṭīkā* PTT, Vol. 84, p. 127-4, 5): "The three kinds are outer, inner and secret. That was explained by Ārya-Jñānapāda to mean fifteen in an external set, fifteen in a personal set, and fifteen in a secret set. Having cited his words, I should here explain clearly his meaning. He goes on to take the outer as three, which multiplied by the five sense objects yields the number fifteen, and does the same for the inner or personal, and for the secret which involves the *prajñā-upāya* union. In each case, the three are the Buddha, the Bodhisattva, and the Devī associated with that object by the triad of perception, sense organ and sense object, i.e. for form, the three are the Buddha Vairocana, the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, and the Devī Rūpavajrā."

There are three main sources for the various comments cited above. One is the Explanatory Tantra *Samādhivyākaraṇa*, which is a verse paraphrase, with slight enlargement, of the first twelve chapters of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. In its treatment of Chap. 7, it states (PTT, Vol. 3, p. 240-3):

> The three kinds of form and other sense objects are the non-apprehension of inner, outer and both; one should offer those to the gods.

The next source is the Explanatory Tantra *Vajramālā*, which states in what I call the "*nidāna-kārikā*" no. 19:

> Afterwards, the yogin who sees the non-duality should be dwelling upon sense objects "inferior", "intermediate" and "superior" by seeing the triple gnosis.

The third source is the *uttara-tantra* (18th chap. of the Sanskrit text, p. 58):

> The "desires" (i.e. the 5 strands of desire, *pañcakāmaguṇa*) "form", "sound" etc. (pleasurable, painful, and neutral) continually

generate in the heart (respectively), the source of lust, "hatred" and "delusion"

[illegible]

II Possible Greco-Roman concepts in the Buddhist Tantras

At the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Chicago, April 1991, I first called attention to Greco-Roman attributions of [illegible]

6 As explained in the article "The Buddhist Sun Tha Sun Thai Philosophy [illegible] the sun gateway and the lunar gateway, and the lunar gateway and the solar gateway.

tions to corporeal centers as closely paralleled by doctrines of the Buddhist Tantras. This report was incorporated in a larger study "The Five-fold Ritual Symbolism of Passion" published in the anniversary volume of Koyasan University[7] and based especially on Tibetan sources. Later I noticed that the tantric Nāgārjuna's *Piṇḍikramasādhana*, which was published by L. de la Vallée Poussin,[8] contains a Sanskrit passage that identifies the five *skandhas* with five corporeal centers. To save space, I shall omit the Sanskrit original, and give my translation of those verses (Nos. 56–60) as follows.

> The knower of *mantras* will place on his head Vairocana's germ syllable Oṃ of white color, because it is the intrinsic nature of the personality aggregate of form (*rūpa-skandha*).
> Having contemplated in the throat Amitābha's red Āḥ, pertaining to the intrinsic nature of the aggregate of ideas (*saṃjñā-skandha*), he attains lordliness of speech.
> The *mantrin* should deposit in his heart Akṣobhya's Hūṃ, shining like the deep blue gem, as the form of the aggregate of perceptions (*vijñāna-skandha*).
> He should place at the navel a yellow Svā belonging to the Jewel Lord (=Ratnasambhava) and the cause of purifying feelings, because it is the form of the aggregate of feelings (*vedanāskandha*).
> The *mantrin* then deposits in both feet a Hā of green light, as the reality of the Karma Lord (=Amoghasiddhi), because it is the nature of the personality aggregate of motivations (*saṃskāra-skandha*).

In that published paper I identified the five corporeal locations of the five personality aggregates (*skandha*) with the five spots constituting targets for five arrows as in *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, Chap. XVI (Bhattacharyya ed., p. 12.)

> The "knower of mantras" should contemplate in the middle of the Diamond Sky (=Clear Light), an adamantine Mañjuśrī of great power; he should recollect his projecting point with the praxis of five arrows, and make them fall, in the manner of the formidable thunderbolt, in five spots.

Thus, two Buddhist Tantra texts available in Sanskrit—the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and its associated *Piṇḍikramasādhana*—refer respectively to

7 Alex Wayman, "The five-fold ritual symbolism of passion," this work (Chap. 15).
8 Louis de la Vallée Poussin, ed., *Pañcakrama* (Gand, 1896). (The editor has included the *Piṇḍikra-sādhana*=*Piṇḍikrama-sādhana* as Part I of the edition).

five spots on the body and to five corporeal locations of the five personality aggregates.

The [illegible] passage [illegible] may be compared with [illegible] in Buddhist [illegible], to which I [illegible]

[illegible] effected through the collaborated [illegible] Buddhist [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *śūnyatā*).

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

were influenced by such foreign ideas. However, profane science appears to have been so influenced, because during this period two systems of Roman astronomy were circulated in India to be later included in the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira. Also there were esoteric cults borrowing freely from different sources, Buddhist, Hindu, and foreign elements. The eclectic character of such movements helped to bring in certain far-out ideas that neither orthodox Hinduism nor orthodox Buddhism could be expected to entertain. At that time the word 'Tantra' may not yet have been applied to such cults. Also, at the university center of Taxila in far North-West India there was ample opportunity to learn various Greco-Roman concepts and also, for that matter, for some typically Indian ideas to be transported to the West or to enter into the religious syncretisms of Central Asia.

Conclusion

In the early Gupta period there was a vast amount of collecting and rewriting of old legends, as well as the composition of formal treatises, political, philosophical, and so on, required by the new age which had turned to written-down religious texts beginning to compete with the memorized tradition. This remarkable outpouring of new works would make the fourth and fifth centuries the Golden Age determining the form of Hinduism even up to modern times. These two centuries were also the creative age for the Buddhist Tantras, determining the pattern of rite and doctrine for subsequent centuries. Not only the *Guhyasamāja* but also the other "revealed Tantras" were composed mainly at that time, and by this we do not preclude the later addition of chapters as happened to the *Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa* or an expanded recension as apparently occurred to the *Jñāna-vajra-samuccaya*. In the eighth century tantrism entered a new phase with the emergence of the Siddhas or tantric masters and the beginning of tantric rationalization, that is, the enterprise of commentary by the tantric panditas, who tried to explain all sorts of obscure points in those "revealed texts." And despite the difficulty a few commentators would be eminently successful.

3

BUDDHIST GENESIS AND THE TANTRIC TRADITION*

The Buddhist genesis story is very ancient, being found in the Pāli scriptures besides the northern Buddhist accounts. It is mentioned in all three branches of Buddhist scriptures. Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma. A Sanskrit version entitled Rājavaṃśa (royal lineage) exists in the *Mahāvastu*. In the Abhidharma literature the account is given in the description of *vivarta* (differentiation of the beings due to evolution of the inferior worlds) as contrasted with *saṃvarta* (consubstantiation of the beings due to dissolution of the inferior worlds). At least in later Buddhist accounts, the legend does not have the importance that the Biblical Genesis has in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Our treatment suggests that in the earliest Buddhism it may well have had a much greater importance than it had later on.

In any case, Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357-1419 A.D.), founder of the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism signals the importance of the legend in an elaborate discussion utilizing both non-Tantric and Tantric sources in the first part of his work *Dpal gsaṅ ba ḥduṣ pahi gnad kyi don gsal ba*, "Elucidating the meaning of the essential points of the *Śrī-guhyasamāja* (*Tantra*)" (Lhasa ed. collected works, Vol. Cha), which has the abbreviated reference *Don gsal*. Tsoṅ-kha-pa uses this legend as a rationale for the

* This article first appeared in *Oriens Extremus*, 9/1 (1962), which may be consulted for the Tibetan and Sanskrit texts omitted here.

types of manifestations found in the Abhidharma-sūtra-tantra [illegible] which other [illegible] and types. Western [illegible] because of [illegible] Here [illegible] space for only the main ideas of Tson-kha-pa's discussion.

The main Tantric Buddhist logical ways by organized and summarized as follows

There are three efficient causes of the periodical destruction of the world [illegible] fire, water and wind. According to [illegible] and [illegible] beings [illegible] and by destroying [illegible] the realm of desire [illegible] and the First Dhyāna Heaven of the realm of form [illegible]. Water destroys [illegible] the realm of form [illegible] the Second Dhyāna Heaven of the realm of form [illegible] the Third Dhyāna Heaven of the realm of form. The Fourth Dhyāna is referred to by [illegible] such as the Brahmā [illegible] the Second Dhyāna by a chief deities, the Abhāsvaras, the Third Dhyāna by the Śubha deities.

[illegible] period of destruction, while the lower [illegible] worlds are [illegible] beings [illegible] in a [illegible] usually described as starting [illegible] the Abhāsvara [illegible] [illegible] Here [illegible] as [illegible] world [illegible] usually [illegible] though [illegible] and Vasubandhu of the [illegible] Buddhist [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] beings [illegible] beings [illegible] Here [illegible] [illegible] and go where they wish

There are the six kinds of the earth which at that time was in a Buddha

[illegible] Buddhist [illegible] beings are also [illegible] from a womb" (*jarāyu-ja*), [illegible] '957), pp. 41-42

[illegible] have appeared on earth [illegible] which some being disposed to [illegible] and other beings [illegible] beings became dependent on [illegible] and [illegible] and the [illegible] kind of food, which does not give rise to excremental [illegible]

III. Then, in place of the honey-like earth excrescence, a [illegible] appeared [illegible] appeared and the beings had mutual sexual desire with associated acts.

IV. The [illegible] of the legend shows the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Mahāvastu [illegible] p. 42

[illegible] translated by [illegible] Book I, Chap. [illegible]

[illegible] *See post* [illegible]

[illegible] events of a Buddha does not occur in the *Abhidharma* or in the *Vinaya*.[7] But why did these beings become dominated subsequently by desires, lust and hatred? He says: "Since they had obtained possession of the 'knowledge body' (*dhāna dehā*), the superior body, the body of a god of the realm of form, free from the coarse body which undergoes development, but there was overcome by all the action, karma and defilement (*kleśa*) arising from the karma mind and came under the power of these two."[8] He goes on to explain the reason as the habit-energy (*vāsanā*) that happens to remain handed down in the organs, genes and embryos. Although they had a body superior to that of men, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, they did not know the Dharma by hearing (*śruta*) and pondering (*cintā*) and could not comprehend it through creative contemplation (*bhāvanā*). Hence they wander in phenomena (*dharma*).[9] In further addition to the standard account, Tsong-kha-pa adds the earth element and embrace (*samāsa*)[10] and he calls the separation male and female the division of means (*upāya*) and wisdom (*prajñā*), respectively.[11]

The using Buddhist formulations of the Path such as the Eightfold Noble Path are not thus to be approachable the legend as literal stand. This [illegible] to rebirth [illegible] These [illegible] brought back of [illegible] which had been removed by the dissolution of the [illegible] worlds and which would necessarily reappear with the new manifestation of [illegible] Yet even the old [illegible] Tantra Buddhism can be interpreted [illegible] the legend, especially with Tsong-kha-pa's word [illegible]. A description [illegible] Hevajra Tantra [illegible] by [illegible] the great Brahma adorned by [illegible] and [illegible] the door of [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible] either the Abhidharma or Vinaya literature

8. *Dorjegyal*, 20a-6. [illegible]
9. *Ibid.*, 20b-2,3
10. *Ibid.*, 30b-4
11. *Ibid.*, 31a-6 to 3 b-1

believed [illegible] there is no state superior to the human [illegible]

The man [illegible] yoga and various samādhis which develop [illegible] and which are supposed to win a command over subtle matter [illegible]. He reaches the second period characterized by subsidence of subtle matter [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] which is the [illegible] of embodiment. [illegible] The mind separates from the [illegible] and is freed or liberated. He [illegible] did the man of the first case, but he has arrived at the comparable stage together with a [illegible] that eliminates the [illegible] of karmic lust and [illegible]. The stage is called Nirvāṇa by the Buddhists, Mokṣa by the Hindus.

However, Mahāyāna Buddhism claims to have a higher attainment than that [illegible]. The ideal of [illegible] Buddhism [illegible] to become a complete Buddha with the three bodies called the Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya, and Nirmāṇakāya, who is [illegible] to the [illegible] of the phenomenal world. In accordance with a passage cited above from [illegible], the [illegible] must reach the [illegible] comparable [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] to [illegible] death and the intermediate state [illegible] the man of the first case experienced these three phases during [illegible] when they were still [illegible] and [illegible] had the ordinary bodies of [illegible]. Of course in [illegible] the [illegible] periods are [illegible]. He [illegible] of the Dharmakāya at the purification of death [illegible] the Dharmakāya [illegible] the experience [illegible] death. [illegible] Again [illegible] of the Sambhogakāya at the purification of the intermediate state, and [illegible] of the Nirmāṇakāya at the purification of the [illegible].

[illegible] the Pañcakrama states. The Sambhogakāya [illegible] the Gandharva [illegible] making the Sambhogakāya [illegible] to the [illegible] state [illegible] the [illegible] the intermediate state. The Dharmakāya is [illegible] with death and with comparable states [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] in a passage of the [illegible]

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2 [illegible]

[illegible] one may refer to Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom* [illegible]

4 [illegible]

5 [illegible]

6 [illegible] To understand [illegible] one should know that in this [illegible] intermediate state.

quoted in Tsoń-kha-pa's *Shags rim chen mo*.[17] The Nirmāṇakāya is illustrated in some Tantric *āgama* by the Avatars of Viṣṇu interpreted as intra-uterine stages.[18]

There are two phases of the Anuttara-yoga-tantra—the Stage of Generation (*utpatti-krama*) and the Stage of Completion (*sampanna-krama*), respectively the phase of the path (*mārga*) and the phase of the fruit (*phala*). Tsoń-kha-pa says, "Therefore, it is a mistake not to finish during the phase of the first Stage (*krama*) the part consisting in the various elements concordant with the three things, birth, death, and the intermediate state".[19] Hence, one must meditate consistently with the three bodies of the Buddha in the phase of the path, in the phase of the fruit one gains those bodies, called the "three bodies of the fruit".[20]

It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine how old such teachings are. However, the above should indicate the profundity of that old Buddhist legend.

17. Cf. Alex Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Mitra," *Indo-Iranian Journal* (1959), p. 57.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-72.
19. *Don gsal*, 26a-4.
20. *Ibid.*, 26a-3.

4

ANALOGICAL THINKING IN THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS

The employment of systematic analogies is frequent in the Vedic literature, from the *Ṛig-Veda* itself, down to the Upaniṣads, the oldest of which (such as the *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*) precede the rise of Buddhism. A threefold symbolism is frequent in the Vedas, where all the gods were included in one or another of the three realms: heaven, atmosphere, and earth. A fourfold system had also become popular, with one of the four representing the perfect state. For example, of the four chief priests for the great Śrauta ceremonies, it was the Brahman or high priest who knew all three Vedas and protected the ceremony from hostile demons, while the other three priests each knew one Veda. In the case of the celebrated Puruṣa hymn of the *Ṛig-Veda*, this glorified Person is three-fourths outside our world and one-fourth in it. Of the four Ages, the Golden Age has four parts, the successive ones three, two, and one parts (or "fourths") and are correspondingly degenerate. In the *Māṇḍukya-Upaniṣad*, the waking state is the first fourth, dream, the second fourth, deep sleep the third fourth, and the Self (*ātman*) the fourth and called "the fourth" (*turīya*). Of course, the examples of the threefold and fourfold systems could be multiplied at length. The fivefold system became popular in the Upaniṣads, for example, in the *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad*, where the microcosm-macrocosm analogy is presented in terms of the fivefoldness of the world and of the individual.

Both threefold and fivefold systems of analogy are prevalent in the Buddhist Tantras, and because early Buddhism does not go in for this kind of thinking—even though there are many numerical categories in

Buddhism—one may say that the Buddhist Tantras in this feature of systematic analogies constitute a development in Buddhism akin to Vedic formulations, especially of the later Upaniṣads. The threefold correspondences in the Buddhist Tantras are especially in terms of the Body, Speech, and Mind—the "three mysteries" of the Buddha

Body		*mudrā* (gesture)
Speech		*mantra* (incantation)
Mind	—	*samādhi* (deep concentration)

The fivefold correspondences go with the set of five Buddhas. For example, the *Hevajratantra* associates the five Buddhas with the five candidates for training in accordance with their dominant vice

Vairocana		Delusion
Akṣobhya	—	Hatred
Amitābha	—	Lust
Ratnasambhava		Slander (*paiśunya*)
Amoghasiddhi	—	Jealousy (*īrṣya*)

But the Buddhist Tantras do not lack the fourfold correspondences. They are especially used to correlate steps of training. For example, the Anuttarayoga Tantra has a division into the Stage of Generation (*utpatti-krama*) and Stage of Completion (*sampanna-krama*). Each of these has its own explanation of the four *mudrās*: *karma-mudrā*, *dharma-mudrā*, *samaya-mudrā*, and *mahā-mudrā*. Here the word "*mudrā*" is employed in its more abstract significance as a "seal."

In the classical period, the Indian philosophical schools debated the extent to which analogy is a valid source of knowledge, or authoritative, and the Realists (followers of the Nyāya school) accepted analogy as an independent valid source of knowledge. In agreement with them, Candrakīrti—the great Mādhyamika commentator of the Prāsaṅgika school—accepted in his *Prasannapadā* (Chap. One) all four sources of knowledge (*pramāṇa*) in practical life, namely, direct perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), testimony (*śabda*)—which is the lineage of trustworthy persons (*āptāgama*)—and analogy (*upamāna*). Now in *Mkhas grub rje's* [illegible] the position is laid down that the philosophical viewpoint of all sections of the Tantras is the Prāsaṅgika. This means that all four Tantra divisions, the Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, and Anuttarayoga, have the Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamika for a philosophical base. One way Mkhas grub rje's statement can be understood is that the Tantras accept the Realist's position of analogy as an independent source of knowledge. If this is a basic reason, it would still be valid even for those tantric works

TABLE 1
TANTRIC PATHS

Orthodox Explanation

TANTRA	CANDIDATES	DEITIES
Kriyā	Those who delight mainly in external ritual over inner samādhi.	Laughing
Caryā	Those who delight in external ritual and inner samādhi equally.	Mutually gazing
Yoga	Those who delight predominantly in inner samādhi over external ritual.	Holding hands
Anuttarayoga	Those who delight in inner samādhi completely.	United

Unorthodox Explanation

TANTRA	CANDIDATES	WASHING WITH VOIDNESS
Kriyā	Śrāvakas (auditors)	External washing purifies body.
Caryā	Pratyekabuddhas (= ṛṣis, seers)	Inner washing purifies speech.
Yoga	Yogācārins (mind-only school)	Secret washing purifies mind.
Anuttarayoga	Mādhyamikas	Reality washing by diamond-like samādhi unifies body, speech, and mind.

harder to establish. There is obviously some arbitrariness; yet there do seem to be parallels. For example, in the case of Akṣobhya's clan, water when untroubled (*akṣobhya*) serves as a mirror; hence the mirror-like knowledge. Regarding the association of perception (*vijñāna*) or mind (*citta*) with water, these are compared with the ocean or its waves and with a mirror in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. Later we shall see that initiation (*abhiṣeka*) attended with "sprinkling" is performed under the auspices of the Buddha Akṣobhya, who is also the "ambrosia" urine. As to association with purity of sounds, this may be due to the fact that the water disk is located in the heart, where, in the Hindu terminology, is found the *cakra* Anāhata (the unstruck sound), that is to say, the place where sound is self-originated. For the corresponding candidate of hatred, this association is clarified in my work in press, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*. This has to do with the uninterrupted character of the stream of consciousness,

results from positing a Buddha other than Vairocana for the "center of the *maṇḍala*" and thus according that other Buddha the "Knowledge of the Natural Realm (*dharmadhātu*)." Furthermore, a yogic attainment involving the movement of a "wind" from one center to another naturally changes the correspondences to bodily locations.

TABLE 2

CLASSIFICATION IN CLANS

CLAN NAME	BUDDHA	PERSONALITY AGGREGATE (SKANDHA)	KNOWLEDGE (JÑĀNA)	AMBROSIA (AMṚTA)	SUPERIN-TENDENCE (ADHIṢṬĀNA)	ELEMENT AND ITS BASE	PURITY OF SENSORY DOMAIN
Vajra (thunderbolt or diamond)	Akṣobhya "The untroubled one"	Perceptions (*vijñāna*)	Mirror-like	Urine	Mind (*citta*)	Water disk in heart	Sounds
Ratna (jewel)	Ratnasambhava "Source of jewels"	Feelings (*vedanā*)	Of equality	Blood	Merits (*guṇa*)	Earth disk in privities	Odors
Padma (lotus)	Amitābha "Boundless light	Ideas (*saṃjñā*)	Discriminative	Semen	Speech (*vāk*)	Fire disk in throat	Tastes
Khadga (sword), Karma (ritual action), or Samaya (pledge)	Amoghasiddhi "Unfailing success"	Motivations (*saṃskāra*)	Of the procedure of duty	Human flesh	Acts (*karma*)	Wind disk in navel	Tangibles
Cakra (wheel), or Tathāgata (thus-come)	Vairocana "The illuminator"	Form (*rūpa*)	Of the natural realm (*dharmadhātu*)	Excrement	Body (*kāya*)	Space (*ākāśa*) throughout body	Forms

mystically called "hatred" by hostility to cause and effect. Another interpretation is found in Buddhaguhya's commentary (extant in Tibetan) on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Chap. One), which among a long list of mentalities includes the "stream mentality" (*chu bo'i sems*). Buddhaguhya explains this one as independent of the two extremes, where the two are nihilism and eternalism, and that this mentality takes recourse to nacures which avoid those two extremes. In this sense, the middle path of Buddhism is a "hatred" toward the extremes of nihilism or eternalism of existence or non-existence. But Buddhaguhya also points out that the stream flows with dependence on the two extremes of eternalism and nihilism (in the sense of two banks). Further down the list, he comments on the "water mentality" (*chu i sems*) as the one which adheres to washing off all unvirtuous thoughts. This water mentality is consistent with Akṣobhya's initiatory water as well as with the mirror-like water that reflects the moon as it is.

THE NATURE OF BUDDHIST ESOTERICISM

Esotericism of the Buddhist Tantras begins with what are called the "three mysteries of the Buddha," but these could also be translated the "three secrets of the Buddha." As Padmavajra explains them in his *Tantrārthāvatāra* Commentary (Toh. 2502, Derge ed., 147a-2, ff.), the secret Body, Speech, and Mind of the Tathāgatas, are these:

> Secret of Body: Whatever form is necessary to tame the living beings.
> Secret of Speech: Speech exactly appropriate to the language of the creature, as in the language of the *yakṣa-s*, etc.
> Secret of Mind: Knowing all things as they really are.

Since the candidate aims to correlate his body, speech, and mind with those three of the Buddha, at once Padmavajra's simple explanation shows the limitation of some Western expositions of the Tantra. For example, S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, devotes Chap. V (The Element of Esoteric Yoga) to the tantric theory of the body, claiming that this is the fundamental stress of the Buddhist tantrists, that they seek to find the truth along with perfect bliss in the body, on the basis of its arrangement of *cakra-s* and so on. Then Agehananda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*, has his longest chapter (also No. 5) on *mantra*, claiming that this is "the chief instrument of tantrism." John Blofeld, *The Tantric Mysticism of Tibet*, is on the right track with his brief section "The interplay of body, speech, and mind," where the body does prostrations, makes gestures (*mudrā*), etc., speech utters *mantra-s*, and the mind visualizes the deity.

As to the classification "secret," I brought forth an explanation in the study included in this work "Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras." This is Ānandagarbha's point that a tantric teaching is labelled "secret" when there is a restriction on teaching it to others. This sense of the word is deeply impressed on those who take the tantric initiations, especially the Hierophant's Initiation (*vajradarśanābhiseka*). It should be noted, as will be justified in my treatment of the meaning of initiation, that the mere assignment to a disciple of a single deity to meditate upon, along with praises of that deity to memorize and repeat, is not counted as "secret" in Ānandagarbha's sense.

So far my reading in tantric texts has found no clearer light on the esoteric than is in the extensive commentary by that same Ānandagarbha (a prolific commentator on the Yoga Tantra class entitled *Śrī Paramādyṭīkā* on the Tantra portion called *Śrī Paramādya-mantrakalpatantrapadma*. Whereas D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part I, pp. 42-43, thinks that the Tantra he worked on is symbolizing the sexual act (*maithuna*), we shall learn, at least from Ānandagarbha, that the vocabulary of the sexual act is used to symbolize the secret, which is not the same as physical sex. An issue is a certain verse found in the Tantra (Tibetan Kanjur PTT, Vol. 5, p. 172.3), which that Tantra prefaces by saying this is "the Reality of the hand symbol of Śrī Paramādya." I translate the verse as follows:

> The great weapon of the great lord who has the supreme success (*siddhi*) has its great is said to be the five-pronged thunderbolt which is the great reality of the five secrets.

Ānandagarbha's extensive commentary on this verse (PTT, Vol. 73, p. 27.5 to p. 130), starts by explaining that the "supreme success" is the *siddhi* of Śrī Vajrasattva (the glorious diamond being). The "great lord" is Mahāsukhādhara. The great reality of the five secrets amounts to the (1) *bodhicitta* (mind of enlightenment), (2) understanding it, (3) its realization, (4) its non-abandonment, and (5) the knowledge characterized by attainment, and these are represented by five goddesses, who are "pears" (*madhu*) arising from the Body, Speech, and Mind diamonds (*vajra*) of Mahāsukhādhara. Observe that the source is again the three mysteries of the Buddha.

Now the intriguing feature of this classification is what the commentary refers to as the "five secrets" (*gsan ba lnga*). Why not call the goddesses "secret" or the subsequent commentarial explanations. But, no, it is precisely what non-tantric Buddhist texts would take as a topic of open discourse, that this commentary decides to label "secret": such things as the mind of enlightenment, understanding it, and so on! But what do

those five have in common to justify calling them "secret"? Only, that like the secret of female sex, they are inward, and so they can be represented by five goddesses.

Also, the commentary frequently speaks of the four goddesses, by leaving out Vajrasattva, who is ordinarily considered a male deity. However, his inclusion in the group of five can be justified by his dual nature of male-female, as will be shown by the explanation. I have made a tabulation from Ānandagarbha's data, showing the five secrets along with the five goddess group and initial commentarial explanations — which should begin to clarify this matter.

TABLE 3
THE GREAT REALITY OF FIVE SECRETS

THE FIVE SECRETS	FIVE "GODDESS" GROUP	EXPLANATION
1. Bodhicitta (mind of enlightenment)	Vajrasattva (Diamond being)	Who has both the great pleasure and the unwasted *vajra* (diamond).
2. Understanding it	Rāgavajrā (Diamond of passion)	Who pleases Vajrasattva's mind so he will not swerve from the Thought of Enlightenment.
3. Its realization	Vajrakīlikīlā (Diamond joyful utterance)	The basic pledge to arouse attachment to the great pleasure and unwasted *vajra*.
4. Its non-abandonment	Vajrasmṛti (Diamond memory)	She is "Diamond memory" because unshattered by victory over lust, etc.
5. The knowledge characterized by attainment	Vajrakāmeśvarī (Diamond queen of desires)	She, the "Diamond queen of desires," is the sensory objects that are materialized by the lord Vajrasattva.

It follows from the explanation of Vajrasattva that his inclusion in the five goddess group is simply because he has the "great pleasure" which must be counted as female in contrast with the "unwasted *vajra*" which is male. This is the closest this literature comes to the "passive-active" polarity. It is because Vajrasattva is androgyne that both men and women can practice the Tantras as yogins and yoginis.

Furthermore, Ānandagarbha (*op. cit.* p. 129-3) identifies the set of four goddesses with Tathāgatas in the sense that each goddess confers the diadem initiation going with the family (or lineage) of that Tathāgata.

Rāgavajrā	—	Akṣobhya
Kīlā kīlā	—	Ratnasambhava
Vajrasmṛti	—	Amitābha
Vajrakāmeśvarī		Amoghasiddhi

Subsequently Ānandagarbha (op. cit., p. 130-2) refers to this group of four as the 'vajra-mandala' (just he also calls it the 'city of liberation') and uses the word 'vajra' in this mandala context means that the body of the Lord dwells amidst the net of diamond goddesses. He means that Vairocana is surrounded by the four goddesses. In this case, the word 'vajra' again has a sexual meaning, now referring to the pudendum of the queen Lakṣmī. But it is not the sexual language which is secret, rather what it symbolizes. The real secret is that the mind of enlightenment (the bodhicitta) has entered the four states called 'wholehearted understanding', 'its non-rejection', 'its non-abandonment' and 'the knowledge characterized by attainment'. And a further secret is that the mind of enlightenment itself contains another lower called 'great pleasure'. This then is the sexual sign, along with the magical song and instrumental music, the flowers and incense (op. cit., 131).

The vision of the Lord as a cold new object urging a sweetness of such private symbolism. He could say, but it is a frightening, it have the mind of enlightenment, the wisdom arising of it and [illegible] the mind of charnel-ground and cast element of the unique mantra spoken aloud and disguised with the [illegible] of goddesses, offerings and the [illegible] discussion [illegible] rather than in the [illegible] the underlying [illegible] of the mind of enlightenment. The answer is that we [illegible] he is do exactly what [illegible] is [illegible]. They treat the mind of enlightenment and [illegible] elements of the Buddhist as a path which [illegible] through. A good example is the [illegible] the [illegible] on the [illegible] Dharma [illegible] Dharma [illegible] *The Buddhist* [illegible] *Buddhist* [illegible] [illegible] that we can also become trigged down [illegible] energy because [illegible] and [illegible] the Buddhist [illegible] [illegible] But the Lord [illegible] [illegible] by the Buddhist [illegible] [illegible] understanding [illegible] And because the goddess [illegible] enchanted by her love does not see [illegible] [illegible]

In my [illegible] I have cited the expansion of [illegible] the number of Buddhist [illegible] of water. The [illegible] stream of [illegible] the [illegible] the other hand with the [illegible] the Lord again [illegible] the Buddha head. The second is the pregnant [illegible] and [illegible] which is conferred by the guru when the disciple is [illegible] when the disciple is prepared through initiation, the tantric secrets become [illegible]

disciple the "pregnant" The third, the profound, is conferred by oneself. Here again the terminology of "secret" brings in the female element, first with the seed in her, next with her pregnancy, and last with the profundity of insight (the goddess).

Tson-kha-pa's *Sbas don* (p. 11 5 to 12-1) presents a list of seven topics which should not be made clear to persons who do not have lineage in this (tantric) vehicle. He says the list is taken from Lva-ba-pa's commentary (presumably Toh. No. 1401, the *Sādhanaṭīkā-triṣakrasaṃvara-nāma-paṭjikā*) and is practically the same as the list in the *Sampuṭottara* (in fact, PTT Vol 2, p. 283-3,4). He slightly expands each item of the seven, as follows

1. The secret domain of reality, i.e the domain of the *prajñā* which is reality.
2. The secret circle of the Victor, i.e the circle of deities.
3. The secret "pregnant" truth, i.e as in the *Sampuṭottara*, the illustrious pregnant things.
4. The secret which is the secret lotus, i.e the lotus in the *mūla-cakra* as well as the locus of the *mudrā*
5. The secret delight by the seed, i.e the delight engendered from the dripping *of bodhicitta* from the HAM syllable at the crown of the head
6. The secret which is combining all, i.e. combining the secrets of *vajra* and lotus, etc.
7. The secret uninterrupted bliss, i.e entering the single uninterrupted taste of both the objective reality and the subjective

This appears to be a comprehensive list of items which should not be made clear to immature, i.e. uninitiated persons, who do not have the vows and pledges going with the higher initiations. Explaining these items to such persons constitutes the seventh fundamental transgression among the fourteen (cf *Mkhas grub rje's*, pp. 328-29)—the one which is called "mountains

Tson-kha-pa (*Sbas don*, p. 12-1) goes on to set forth what is meant by explaining such secrets and says that there are two ways of explaining—one according to the "hinted meaning" (*neydrtha, dran ba i don*), the other according to the "evident meaning" (*nītārtha, ñes pa'i don*). For an example of how Nāro-pāda explains in both ways, see the later essay (chap. 10) on Tantric Ritual.

It should be clear from the above that a Buddhist Tantra is not just a series of secrets. In fact, most of those secret topics appertain to the body of tantric literature called the Anuttarayoga Tantra, and even in the works of this class one could find many statements that do not fit—at least on the

surface among these secrets. Still it is reasonable that the Anuttarayoga Tantra should contain so much material to be labeled secret because the foregoing chapter on Analogical Thinking shows that the Tantra discussion is meant for associates who delight in inner samadhi completely, and the secrets of this chapter are mainly those which are concerned inward and so have the secrecy metaphysical of the foreign sort.

With this new light on the secrets, it would be possible for the reader to have an examination of the book S. B. Dang pa *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*. The author had studied a number of Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist Tantras belonging to the Anuttarayoga class. Therefore, he found abundant information in such matters as the chakras in the body and what he calls the "seed syllable" practice. In fact he generally favored the kind of data which reminded him of the Hindu Tantras and which he could therefore relate to his previous knowledge. Naturally such extracts are valid passages, even though as the present researches show, the continuous line of teachers provides a somewhat different approach than what one can obtain by unguided random selection. He seems to have had, because of his certain not on relation to Tantric Buddhism. But when he included in the of the material of this book in his many matters which *Dhyana Buddhist Tantra* the material cannot be accepted, he may, because now there is no misrepresentation of constituting an introduction.

If not these tantric secrets themselves, one thing should be clear: the textual authorities used or needed to discuss the university or the brow are one of the cracks in an effort to make a secret. Rather, as we have shown, should be the inner waters related as a kind of the application extension to the very facts provided to by the textbook. In very many human letters it is be secret to any one that he or she is a sexual being in the sense of being sexual. All males, a person does not have the sex in his. But a woman does not know the secrecy of her mysterious processes belonging a new female the world, simply by having them. Someone has to tell her about them. She could be told, but in India the mysterious processes were associated by ten, inner mind be which appear to have been the prototype of the ten Bodhisattva stages. More generally, in the East something is concealed because it is normal, it is known simply by reason of a possession. Here again, the tantric satisfaction is not the secret. The disciple does not know the entire secrets even though they are with him and so the guru is absolutely essential to guide the disciple in knowledge, the disciple is an insight, *prajnâ*. The disciple develops his in the sequence of hearing, pondering and cultivating, while becoming a "Bodhisattva" and so in Tibetan. Such is the meaning of coordinating his body, speech and mind to the three mysteries of the Buddha.

However, it might be asked if it is not the case that the tantric texts

themselves are secret. There is little doubt that the main texts in the revealed sense, now preserved in Tibetan translation in the Kanjur, were handed down for some centuries orally, and this sort of transmission ensured a restriction to an esoteric group. But the principal texts, usually in verse, took form for memorizing purposes, were not strictly secret to the masses of people, but were unknown or inconsequential to them. Down the centuries, there would have been a relatively small number of persons who sought the tantric "secrets" and were turned down. These tantric texts were powerfully secret to the very persons who memorized them, if memorizing was what they did with those texts. The reason is that the Tantra is essentially a practice, for which directions are required. A text giving such directions is not sufficiently detailed when written in the traditional Indian form of summary verses. Therefore the guru had to add commentaries, explanations. He would fill in those necessary details omitted by the basic texts, and give them in for the disciples who had been conferred the necessary initiations and taken the vows. His explanations were thus secret in the sense that they could be withheld, but the basic texts had the secrecy of obscurity, just as any manual on whatever topic would be obscure if written in too abbreviated a form to permit anyone to follow through with the necessary actions.

Of course, now certain Buddhist tantric texts have become more available to Westerners. The Sanskrit text of the *Guhyasamājatantra* was edited and published. The *Hevajratantra* was edited and translated into English. In this sense they are not secret in the sense of being withheld from the reader. But they are still secret, if one can believe the commentators, in that reading these Tantras will convey little of what the tantrists themselves are doing in the drawn-out rites, with their multitude of details, chanting, and so on, and it is to imagine of what the best commentaries have to say in amplification of the individual words. In the case of a tantric text, it will always be a mistake for any reader to think that his proven intelligence, by university degrees and the like, or his proven intuition, by life experience and the like, will enable him to penetrate the meaning of a basic Buddhist Tantra text, because the meaning is in the doing of it, and there is no substitute for someone showing how to do it. That someone of course is the guru.

II

FOUNDATIONS OF THE BUDDHIST TANTRA

Just as the milk of lioness
Is not to be put in a vessel of earth,
So also the Great Yoga Tantra is
Not to be given to unworthy vessels.

Abhayākara's *Vajrāvali*, Sec. 50

6

DIVINITY ACCORDING TO THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS

For the numerous deities of the Buddhist Tantras, the best descriptive coverage is in Benoytosh Bhattacharyya *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. The luxurious growth of these cults is bewildering in complexity. Therefore, some general explanations of a unifying type are in order.

Nāro-pādā, in his *Vajrapada-sāra-saṃgraha-paṅjikā* (PTT, Vol. 54, p. 1 2), inaugurates his deity chapter by two citations to explain the word "divinity" *devatā*. The *Kālacakra* work *Vimalaprabhā* states: Because conventional ecstasy has arisen in the body's nature of five elements, one speaks of "divinity." And the *Śrī-Vajrāmṛta-tantra* states: Why does one speak of "divinity"? In the body is located the body possessor; in order to comprehend, there is the "comprehender"; in order to comprehend one-self, there is divinity. For that reason, one speaks of "divinity."

Nāro-pādā explains divinity in terms of the one who achieved ecstasy in the body (the conjunction joy) and who comprehended, i.e. was enlightened. He implies the Buddha under the title "Tathāgata" because this is the source of all the Buddhist Tantric deities, or the dominion in which they serve. Mkhas grub rje, in his commentary on the *Hevajratantra* called briefly the *Brag gren* (Lhasa Collected Works, Vol. Ja, folio 104a-3, ff.), has a useful exposition which I shall further summarize and partially paraphrase as follows.

(a) *Meaning of the expression "Tathāgata"*. The Tathāgata has the two collections, of Knowledge (*jñāna*) and of Merit (*punya*). Through Knowledge, i.e. the Insight (*prajñā*) indissoluble from Thusness (*tathatā*), he has gone into the single taste of Thusness. Through Merit, he has come (*āgata*), i.e. returned from Thusness, to the cycle of existence (*saṃsāra*).

with the formal body (*rūpa-kāya*). Accordingly he is called "tathāgata" ("thus-gone," "thus-come").

(b) *Families and of the Tathāgata.* As the diverse appearances of the Tathāgata can be grouped in families, so he is frequently spoken of as the lords, namely, Vajra, Tathāgata, Ratna, Padma, Karma, and Vairocana families because whatever the Buddha does, can always be seen to be included in these families. Here, in the mandala, the Tathāgata family is differentiated from the other Tathāgatas in the manner explained in Mahāyānābhisamaya. By the word "vairocana" in the Vairocana family there are five. The Ratna family is compared to the Tathāgata family because the Thunderbolt of Body, Speech and Mind of the Ratna family is compared to the Ratna family. The Vajra family is separated above as the Thunderbolt of Mind, and above. The deities are grouped in five families because they are the powers of the five elements of the body of Vairocana, which phase, emanate and the powers of the five primordial aggregates (*skandha*). The five families are included in these families because the power of the five elements combined in the breed of grouping of body, speech and mind with the above phase, could not with the Buddha's three modes of Body, Speech and Mind.

(c) *The progenitors of the Buddha families.* The names of the Buddha progenitors common to the Buddha families are Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Vairocana. For example certain Buddhist families replace these names with others. For example the *Hevajra-tantra* has the appellations Brahmā, etc. Mikhas grub rje explains the progenitors in terms of these names as follows:

> The Buddha Vairocana is called Brahmā. The Tibetan translation is the Sanskrit "Bramha." Because he enters the mansion of defilement, he establishes the power of freedom from defilement. Moreover, the Tibetan (*rnam par*) Brahmā is equivalent to emptiness (*śūnyatā*), hence the name is used with the meaning of Nirvāṇa of no fixed abode (*apratiṣṭha-nirvāṇa*).
>
> Akṣobhya is called Viṣṇu. The reason for using this term is that Akṣobhya establishes the (*Dharmadhātu*) knowledge and by means of his knowledge enters the reality of the intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*) which pervades all things.
>
> Amoghasiddhi is named Śiva because through the nature of knowledge of the procedure of duty (*karma-jñāna*) he confers (*dānam*) provides all sentient beings with mundane and supramundane goods.
>
> The term Sarva is used for Ratnasambhava because through his "equality knowledge" (*samatā-jñāna*) he establishes in this equality the full comprehension of the nature of all things.

Amitābha is referred to by Tattva, because he establishes the part of "discriminative knowledge" (*pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna*) which comprehends reality (*tattva*), and with subtle joy is like the sky. Vajrasattva is termed Vibuddha ("expanded") because he has expanded to the states of the "great co-natal joy" (*sahajānanda*) while fully comprehending them.

Mkhas grub rje broadens this explanation of Vajrasattva to apply to all the other Buddha-progenitors as well. Of course, the term "co-natal" means "born in the body" (*dehe sambhavaḥ*) cf. *Mahāratnamālā* I, v. 4).

The meaning of the Buddhas as progenitors is further illustrated by placing various elements of the path under their respective dominion. For example, Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Sngags rim chen mo* (Peking blockprint, 365b-3, ff.) cites a number of works and explains the six members of the Stage of Generation (*utpatti-krama*) in the Anuttara-Yoga Tantra. In my summary

TABLE 4

STAGE OF GENERATION

MEMBER	THROUGH WHICH FAMILY	ACTIVITY	REASON FOR THE FAMILY
1	Vairocana	Contemplation of the palace which is the Buddhas' dwelling.	Because he is the nature of the material aggregate (*rūpa-skandha*) of the Tathāgatas.
2	Vajrasattva	Passion towards the divine Father-Mother after generating the symbolic circle (*samaya-cakra*) by means of the five Manifest Enlightenments (*abhisambodhi*) and then generating the knowledge circle (*jñāna-cakra*).	Because that is the meaning of the word who has passion in order to produce "materializations" (*nirmita*) from the *bodhicitta* of the Father-Mother pairs of the retinue deities.
3.	Ratnaketu	Initiation (*abhiṣeka*), conferred by the eight "wisdom goddesses" (*vidyā*).	Because he is the essence of the water initiation.
4.	Amitābha	Enjoyment of the ambrosia (*amṛta*).	Because he is the "Thunderbolt of Speech," which satiates.
5.	Amoghasiddhi	Offerings.	Because he is the progenitor of the Karma family, and hence has power over offerings to the Buddhas, and actions for the sake of the living beings.
6.	Ratnasambhava	Praises.	Because praise is the extolling of merits and at the time of arising of merits of Body, Speech, and Mind, Ratnasambhava is those merits

Besides identification with male deities, as in the *Hevajratantra* with the names Brahmā, etc., sometimes the Buddhas appear in the form of goddesses. Among these goddesses the ones (frequently in fierce form, that the Tibetans especially invoked for occult results (*siddhi*) are often called *ḍākini*. Among these ones, Tsoṅ-kha-pa (*Sbas don*, PTT ed., p. 4-3,4) cites the Tantra "Ocean of Ḍākinis" for an identification of the six stages of yoga of the Stage of Completion (*sampanna-krama*) in the Anuttarayoga Tantra, with six of the Ḍākinīs among the eight doorkeepers in the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala*. I shall complete the table with materials drawn from my forthcoming *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*, which has full justification for this data, unavoidably given here in the most abbreviated form.

TABLE 5

STAGE OF COMPLETION

NUMBER	ḍākinī	NAME OF MEMBER	COMMENT
1	She the Crow-Faced	pratyāhāra ("withdrawal")	Withdrawal, i.e. interiorization of the ten sense bases (five personal and five objective)
2	She the Owl-Faced	dhyāna ("meditation")	Meditation on the nature of the five Tathāgatas
3.	She the Dog-Faced	prāṇāyāma ("control of the winds")	Control of the winds in five colors, with diamond muttering (*vajrajāpa*).
4.	She the Bear-Faced	dhāraṇī ("retention")	The five signs, mirage, etc., with purification of mind (*citta-viśuddhi*) and personal blessing (*svādhiṣṭhāna*).
5.	She, Yama's Messenger	anusmṛti ("recollection")	Recollection, so as to proceed in the reverse order with Revelation-Enlightenment (*abhisaṃbodhi*).
6.	She, Yama's Cremation Ground	samādhi ("consummation")	The consummation of knowledge, with *yuganaddha*, the pair-united.

The passage from the "Ocean of Ḍākinīs" continues, taking care of the last two goddesses: She, Yama's Tusk, achieves the wide-spread firmness. She, Yama's Annihilation, engenders the entire fruit and liberates from *saṃsāra*." (Yama, is the Lord of the dead, in Indian mythology)

This deific identification of elements of the path is further demonstrated in my essay "Symbolism of the Maṇḍala-Palace" as well as in the essay "Five-fold ritual symbolism of passion."

The guru as a divinity

The identification with divinity is also performed in the case of the guru, for which the *Tsa-pa'i ngo-bo nyid-kyi rnal-'byor* as cited in Tsoh kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo* provides the basic position:

> Master of the Secret Folk, how should a disciple look upon his preceptor? As though upon the Lord Buddha. The mind of him so disposed incessantly generates merits; he becomes a Buddha bringing benefit to all the worlds. One should hold to the preceptor's virtues, and never hold to his faults. If one holds to virtues, he attains success; if one holds to faults, he attains failure.

However, this brings up the problem of what constitutes the spiritual teacher. For example, the Dalai Lama's position, Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Dkon-mchog-brgyad-ldan* (Rgyal-ba'i gsung-'bum, Ka, 'Jam-dpal-dang-po edition, 1-3-4) states that external guru is one, and the inner guru the presiding deity (*yi-dam*). The presiding deity is defined by Ārāmadattaśrī in his great commentary on the *Sri Paramādi-tantra* (Dpal-'Phags-pa-'Jam-dpal-gyi-rtsa-ba'i-rgyud, 1-224-3) as follows: "The presiding deity is adamantine. The conscious beings' five aggregates of body, speech, and mind are one's own; with a practice that is truly so, is the meaning of yoga." The presiding deity appears to mean the same as the tutelary deity (*yi-dam*) or the deity which the disciple serves with daily devotions and exists in the heart.

The inner guru is further differentiated in a suggestion of Buddhaguhya's Ārāmadattaśrī's *Mngon-rtogs-rgyan-gyi-'grel-pa* (PTT Vol. 65, p. 44-4) in the expression, "the superior three speakers who teach that way." Ārāmadattaśrī's commentary on this line in the *Mngon-rtogs-rgyan-gyi-'grel-pa* (PTT Vol. 65, p. 35-4-1) explains the words "who teach that way" as meaning "who teach the nature of the indestructible mark in the gathering of Sa-ma-ntā-bha, or at-one-hundred-and-eight-syllable, in the heart." The commentary explains the inner kind as three gurus: the great basic teacher (*gyi-'dab-dpon-chen-po*), the conditional teacher (*rkyen-gyi-'dab-dpon*), and the co-natal teacher (*lhan-cig-skyes-pa'i-'dab-dpon*). He quotes a work called the *Rnal-'byor-phyogs-bcu-'jig-byed-kyi-'dab-kha-na-ma-med* in amplification of these terms:

> The one acting as the teacher purifying one's own stream of consciousness in the sequence of the shared (*sadhārana*) and unshared (*asādhārana*), abiding in pledges (*samaya*), water, etc., is the great basic teacher.
> The great goddess who purifies the field in one's own stream of consciousness by sporting together with (the great basic teacher) and by sixteen parts, is explained to be the conditional teacher.

> One's own mind (*citta*) when given permission by that (conditional teacher) is the co-natal teacher because of the co-natal blessing and because of comprehending the co-natal joy

The commentary goes on to explain that those are "superior" because they surpass other gurus. In further explanation it appears that the first of the three is the tutelary deity serving as the focus for the disciple's adherence to practices shared with non-tantric Buddhism and other Tantras, practices not so shared but special to the cult of that deity, pledges along the way, initiations of water and so forth. That in turn means this service of the first kind of guru awakens the great goddess who takes the disciple through various yoga experiences, sometimes stated with sixteen parts (cf. my essay on the inner zodiac). Finally that one's own mind is the third guru, comprising the union of the tutelary deity and the great goddess (often called yab-yum by the Tibetan term). This is a form of divine pride (*devatā-garva*), necessary for the quick path of Tantra.

Classifications of Divinity

Moreover, the multitude of minor deities are incorporated in the Buddha families by the manner of speaking that those deities are "seals" (*mudrā*) of the Buddha families. Thus, when the performer identifies himself with a deity, his hand gesture (*mudrā*) can be taken as the deity in the evocation procedure, there is a developmental order of the deity as a syllable (*akṣara*), then as a hand symbol (*cihna*), and finally as a deific body. More fully Buddhaguhya in his *Dīpyōttara-pañcaka-ṭīkā* (PTT Vol. 78, p. 75-4) sets forth three main kinds of divinity to be contemplated, and he further breaks them down into varieties, which we tabulate as follows

TABLE 6

NATURE OF DIVINITY

CONSISTING OF FORMAL BODY (*rūpa-kāya*)	CONSISTING OF SOUND	OF ABSOLUTE KIND (*pāramārthika*)
(1) Shaped with eye, etc. and corporeal members.	(1) Consisting of letters.	(1) Nature of *dharmadhātu*.
(2) Consisting of *mudrā*	(2) Consisting of enunciation. (2-a) Consisting of expressed sound of whispered, etc. recitation that is generated by palate, lips, etc. (2-b) Consisting of mental recitation of general *mantras* (2-c) Consisting of the imagination equivalent to beings (*tattva*) from respective *mantra* letters.	(2) Nature of nondiscursive knowledge with non-apperception of meditative object.

The 2-b category is also referred to as "diamond words" (*vajrapada*), described as soundless (*pa shun*), hence mental for example, in Smṛtijñānakīrti's commentary on *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti* (PTT Vol. 75, p. 55-1).

Another type of classification, overlapping the foregoing one, is found in Padmavajra's work, the *Kāyika, vācika, cittika* (Derge Tan.ur Rgyud, Dra, 79b-[illegible] ff.). Here the organization is in terms of the Bodies of the Buddha. In the oldest classification, these are the Dharmakāya and the Rūpakāya. Later the Rūpakāya further divides into the Sambhogakāya and the Nirmāṇakāya, which are standard in the Mahāyāna. Some Mahāyāna sects added a fourth one called the Mahāsukhakāya. This is Padmavajra's statement:

> Those devices who are born by transformation have a body belonging to the Nirmāṇakāya, on which account among the four bodies, Dharma, Sambhoga, Nirmāṇa, and Mahāsukha, three have varieties.
> Among them the Nirmāṇakāya is the gods born by transformation. The Dharmakāya is the set of planes, asterisms, *nakṣatra*, etc. The Sambhogakāya is the two-footed divinities, and the Nirmāṇakāya is like the Sambhogakāya in this respect.
> The Nirmāṇakāya is the gods who range in the palace. The Sambhogakāya is those yogins with *samādhi* in the ritual *samādhi*, *pratiṣṭhāsamādhi*. The Dharmakāya is those who have transcended the ecstasy.
> Besides, [illegible] is explained by the Dharmakāya. Whatever the gods dwelling in the world and *vaidūrya* [illegible] riding in the winds, their non-apparent [illegible] is the Dharmakāya. Moreover, those with *samādhi* [illegible] equipoise in the three samādhis are the Sambhogakāya. Those who mutually gaze by reason of habit; energy of adhering to the idea of mine, are the Nirmāṇakāya. Likewise, [illegible] is explained by knowledge. The non-coursing ecstasy of dwelling in the Akaniṣṭha heavens is the Dharmakāya. Those with the ecstasy of frequently tasting the Dharma in introspection, are the Sambhogakāya. Those who are self-born by reason of a former vow, but do not know it, are the Nirmāṇakāya.

All these can be taken as an explanation of Buddhaguhya's category of absolute deity, first kind, nature of *dharmadhātu*. These can also be discussed by the terminology of three *saṃvṛti*, for which see *Mkhas grub rje's*.

Besides, one can expand upon the absolute divinity of Buddhaguhya's variety referred to as "non-discursive knowledge." [illegible] *Sangs*

[illegible]

PLATE 4. Mahā-vajradhara

rim chen mo at folio 37b-2 cites the commentary on the *Sampuṭa* by Dpa' bo rdo rje (*Śūravajra) that there are three levels of non-discursive ecstasy. The first is based on sound (the sound of laughter), which in mystical experience is referred to as "hearing the Lord". The second is based on sight (seeing the form of the deity) therefore "seeing the Lord". The third is based on touch (as when the deity and consort hold hands or unite), and would be later described as "touching the Lord". In fact, this section of the *Shags rim chen mo* thereby establishes the division of four Tantras in terms of the role of the divinities of the Tantra. That is to say, the *Kriyā Tantra* has the deities laughing, the *Caryā Tantra*, the deities mutually gazing, the Yoga Tantra, the deities holding hands, the Anuttara-yoga Tantra, the deities in union.

The Ādi Buddha

Finally, there is the Primordial Buddha, or the final perfection of divinity, the composite of all Buddhas, called Vajradhara (Holder of the Diamond), and also Vajrasattva (Diamond Being), Samantabhadra (Entirely Auspicious, the Vow of Enlightenment), or Kālacakra (wheel of Time). Vajradhara is sometimes depicted in union with the Goddess, and sometimes by himself as in the illustration.

In explanation of Mahāvajradhara, the *Guhyasamājatantra* (Chap. XVII, p. 135) has the verse

> Then Vajradhara, the Teacher, who is bowed to by all the Buddhas, best of the three diamonds, best of the great best, supreme lord of the three diamonds.

And the Explanatory Tantra *Vajramālā* (PTT Vol. 3, p. 229) states

> Vajradhara is explained as endowed with the profound and far-reaching, the Diamond Being (vajrasattva), best of those with two (legs), who is master of destroying and benefiting.

As to the *Guhyasamāja* verse XVII, 39), the *Pradīpoddyotana* (PTT Vol. 158, p. 154-3) states in part that the three diamonds are the diamonds of Body, Speech, and Mind. In the case of "supreme lord of the three diamonds" Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Mchan-'grel* explains the "lord of body" displays simultaneously innumerable materializations of body, "lord of speech" teaches the Dharma simultaneously to boundless sentient beings each in his own language, "lord of mind" understands all the knowable which seems impossible. Hence, these are the "three mysteries" of the Buddha. The *Vajramālā* verse stresses Vajradhara in human form as Vajrasattva, the chief hierophant.

7

PREPARATION OF DISCIPLES, THE MEANING OF INITIATION

By "preparation of disciples" is meant their preparation to evoke deities, a process frequently called in Sanskrit *sādhana* and this is to be distinguished from the initiation of disciples. Thus there are two parts to the present essay, exhibited textually toward the end of the present work with "Outline of the Thob Yig Gsal Bahi Me Lon," because Chapter 4 of the outlined treatise treats the stages of permission to evoke deities, and its subsequent Chapter 5 treats initiation and shows that Mantrayāna begins with initiation.

Preparation of Disciples for Evocation of Deities

It is well known that Tibetan monks meditate upon a wide variety of deities. Many of these gods and goddesses are depicted upon the temple banners called Tankas, of which a goodly number have found their way into Western museums as well as into private homes. The Sanskrit word for these evocations is *sādhana* translated into Tibetan as *sgrub thabs* (pronounced *drewp tap*). Westerners invariantly want to know the meaning of these deities and their accompanying incantations (*mantra*), in Tibetan *sngags*, pronounced *ngok*, and would be surprised to learn that they do not have such and such meanings in the Western sense of intellectual understanding. Their meanings arise through the regular practice and service of the deity. Nevertheless, there are some general remarks that can be made about such practices.

The Sanskrit books available on these subjects convey meager informa-

tion. This is because the collection of *sādhanas* contain only the bare description of the deities. [illegible] the [illegible] appears [illegible] which [illegible] into [illegible] many heads and [illegible] hands and [illegible] hands and [illegible] The [illegible] all the [illegible] been.

[illegible] the [illegible] must get permission. Here [illegible] The theory of [illegible] *Fundamentals of the Buddhist* [illegible] dreams. The [illegible] deity and [illegible] disciples. This is the reason why the disciple [illegible] Buddha [illegible] the [illegible] regarding the [illegible] conferring [illegible]

The [illegible] Ngagchang Dorjechang [illegible] of the [illegible] permission [illegible] The disciples [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] the Buddhas [illegible] refuge in the Three Jewels [illegible] accumulated by themselves and others and for the sake of the [illegible]

beings pray for the permission of such and such a tutelary deity or [illegible] of the region. The master has the candidates repeat the sentences after him thrice in order to [illegible] the mandala and verify the basis of the permission; the disciples are generated into deities.

The manner in which this permission [illegible] shown in the Tibetan [illegible] of the goddess [illegible] as found in the [illegible] called the *Rin* [illegible] the text on the [illegible]. Here we find that the master first generates himself into the goddess [illegible] with her retinue of eight deities. Then he [illegible] the two [illegible] of generation [illegible] into deities and generation of [illegible] which are described [illegible] in Mkhas grub rje's *Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*. The *Rin* [illegible] and [illegible] the permission of body, which [illegible] the bodies on a [illegible] of the goddess [illegible]. Then it [illegible] the permission of speech, which [illegible] hand the [illegible] of the [illegible]. [illegible] the permission of mind, which [illegible] of the goddess's body [illegible] the length of a finger [illegible] the heart. [illegible] three kinds of permission each have [illegible].

[illegible] that the [illegible] permission [illegible] demands upon the imaginative ability of the master and the disciples. From ancient times Buddhism classified candidates in terms of keen faculty, medium faculty, and [illegible] preceding training for the disciple [illegible] much [illegible].

An example [illegible] the first [illegible] of a work entitled [illegible] of the region called [illegible] and [illegible], along with the associated permission. The [illegible] suggests that this book [illegible] the master [illegible] the [illegible] first [illegible] and then [illegible] the [illegible] upon the disciples somewhat along the lines [illegible] three parts in the method of [illegible] the [illegible] divided into [illegible] the main part of the rite [illegible]. The [illegible] and permission are counted as the main part of the rite.

[illegible] my attention to a word which occurs near the beginning [illegible] and he explains [illegible] means [illegible] paintings, on which I am presently writing a book based

on the manuscripts of the late Professor F. D. Lessing of Berkeley. Naturally the master cannot be expected to carry around with him those large scrolls which hang in the temples for the purposes of permission and initiation of the disciple; the [illegible] serves here [illegible]. It must be carefully prepared to depict correctly the manner in which the particular deities are to be accompanied. Hence this kind of painting is made with especially fine details and with [illegible] drawing. In fact, the text in question mentions this word in connection with [illegible] the ritual praxis. Here we find that on a platform [illegible] the performer arranges various offerings and adornments for the deities, including the [illegible], which, as I understand the sentence, is adorned with [illegible] and [illegible].[1]

After Mr. North pointed out the word [illegible], I soon had the luck of finding the expression in a text of the [illegible], the commentarial Tibetan canon. Those who have read the [illegible] of *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* will have gained some idea of the difference between the four classes of Buddhist Tantra. They will know that the Indian writer Anandagarbha (in Tibetan, Kun dgaḥ sñiṅ po) was a celebrated [illegible] in the [illegible] class of Tantra, called the Yoga Tantra, which [illegible] divided up into [illegible] sections. Of these sections, the one called "Purification of Evil Destinies" is especially interesting on the commentarial side, and Anandagarbha has [illegible] commentary on it, where I happened to find the word, though here it was transcribed into Tibetan letters as *tak-ka-li*.

Let me translate Anandagarbha's key sentence: "Besides, there is a condition [illegible] for generating [illegible] one which arranges here in the mind and arranges [illegible] body." This shows that in order to effectuate the [illegible] there is a simultaneous [illegible] in the mind and in the external world. In the mind the [illegible] are arranged, and in the external world the [illegible] representations of the deities are arranged. It might be thought that these external representations, such as the [illegible] paintings, are serving as mechanical props helping the performer to visualize the particular deity or deities. This is certainly a valid function. But Anandagarbha intends something more than that. To see the point, one should ascertain how this particular meditation fits into the general theory of Buddhist meditation.

[illegible] the great [illegible] of the mandala shows that various scriptures as well as Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanā-*

---

[1] The [illegible] word [illegible] an original [illegible] which [illegible] found [illegible] [illegible] There is no reason why the [illegible] cannot be circular or triangular.

nāḍrama II and *Bhāvanākrama* III allow that one may accomplish *samādhi* by taking the body of the Tathāgata (the Buddha) as a meditative object. This is thoroughly orthodox because it is associated with mindfulness of the Buddha, which is said to generate an infinity of merits. Besides, there are the merits of not losing mindfulness of the Buddha at the time of death. When the body of the Buddha, as meditated upon, becomes vivid and firm, this is the calming of keen faculty. The meditator can then continue, as is indicated in the Mahāyāna scriptures, by bowing, making offerings and fervent aspirations before that contemplated body, all of which is included in the accumulation, and then go on to confessions and take vows before the contemplated body, all of which is included in purification from obscurations. The latter seems to pertain to "discerning the truth" (*tattva nishchaya*). Thus there are numerous benefits from holding thought on the body of the Buddha. Also, there is a well-defined procedure for such a contemplation. Tsongkhapa quotes the *Bhāvanākrama* III:

> In regard to that, first the yogin fastens his mind on the formal body of the Tathāgata as it is seen and as it is heard, and then is able to accomplish calming. He ought to fasten his mind continuously on the form of the Tathāgata's body, yellow like the color of purified gold, adorned with the (32) characteristics and the (80) minor marks, dwelling within his retinue and acting for the aim of the sentient beings by diverse means. Generating a desire for the merits of that (body), he subdues fading, excitement, and the other faults, and should practice meditation until such time as that (body) dwells in front and is seen clearly.

In the same place, Tsongkhapa makes a distinction between the initial reflected image in the mind of the external replica, such as a painting or metal casting, and the advanced visualization of that body as naturally present in the mind. The latter attainment involves what is called the "basis of the meditative object." He states: "Some place an icon in front and viewing it with the eye make a quick contemplation. This has been elegantly refuted by the teacher Yeshesde: *samādhi* is not accomplished by what the senses are aware of, rather it is accomplished by what the mind is aware of." Tsongkhapa means that the measure of success in this kind of meditation is on the degree to which the meditative object is completely transferred to the mind, so that both the subtle and rough parts of the body appear vividly in the mind as though alive there. Such a "basis of meditative object" is divorced from the physical characteristics of the particular medium of the replica, such as the painting ingredients and the particular features brought in by reason of a metal casting.

Nevertheless, in the initial stage one does well to use a good replica as a "meditative prop."

Let us return to that sentence of Ānandagarbha's. He seems to indicate the more advanced stage [illegible] phases of meditation [illegible] in the mind. This is not the phase in which one is looking at the [illegible] is accomplished [illegible] the senses are [illegible]. In such a case at an appropriate point [illegible] can be uncovered to constitute a revelation.

[illegible] made only to enter the [illegible] and [illegible] the advantage? [illegible] takes the refuge [illegible] the advantage [illegible] passage from the [illegible] buy the book and look at [illegible] meaning [illegible] has become a means of power.

[illegible] with [illegible] the meaning [illegible] during meditation [illegible] a good [illegible] the object [illegible] in the mind.

The Meaning of Initiation

[illegible] contains a wealth of information on the subject of [illegible] survey of the topic available in depth. However, there is [illegible]

ment of initiation according to the *Kālacakra Tantra* in Mario E. Carelli's introduction to his Sanskrit edition of Nāropa's Sekoddeśaṭīkā (Baroda, 1941). The present essay is not intended to substitute for those expositions to which the reader's attention is directed, or to substitute for the specialized treatment in my forthcoming *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra: the Arcane Lore of Forty Verses.*

The word initiation is a translation of the Sanskrit word *abhiṣeka*, which is rendered into Tibetan as wang, literally "power." Among the general issues are: whether one must be initiated in order to meditate on a deity; whether the disciple is ready to be initiated by going through the ritual motions in an empty sense; whether the procedures of initiation by the guru are the same as those one could read in a text or manual on the topic; or whether the book could be so understood.

The preceding essay on preparation of disciples for execution of deities shows that it is necessary to be initiated in order to make a deity. The disciples are plainly told that the visualization of the Buddha or of the Buddha-to-be is a Buddhist way such that it leads to some medium-sized results. Buddhist way such that it leads to some medium-sized results. Mahāyāna Buddhism. In all cases, however, initiation requires permission, but the kind of permission varies. Tantric deities. Nevertheless, such medium-sized results in both Buddhism and Tantric deities have gone in many cases with a very strict [illegible] of the disciple's ability in Tantric Buddhism. And a [illegible] tantric deities [illegible] the preceding part where Mahāyāna [illegible] were made only [illegible] the [illegible] and not to be [illegible] what would be the advantage. By initiation is meant both the reference and residence [illegible]. The idea here is that one does not need to be initiated in order to meditate on a deity, but one must get the permission in order to meditate and with this permission comes the [illegible] of the [illegible] tantra. For example, a number of Western scholars have [illegible] with the Tibetan Lamas in northern India and Nepal and were given an individual [illegible] along with some verses dedicated to a deity [illegible]. This requires [illegible] preparation of the disciple and a decision by the guru that such and such is the appropriate deity for that person to meditate upon. But in addition, a person has to get an initiation in connection with a certain deity, say Avalokiteśvara, and then a person gives the permission to proceed. The guru is the intermediary of the deities and therefore in the procedures of getting an initiation the point is to get that. Besides the higher initiations through which deities are [illegible] are intended [illegible] were the candidate is already the [illegible] goal of Buddhahood in the present life.

(2) The next point is by no means inconsequential because a number of

Westerners have now gone through initiation ceremonies as conducted for example in North India by the Tibetan refugees, and the person writer and his wife participated in the great Kalachakra initiation conducted by H.H. the Dalai Lama in 1970. Some Westerners have written on these topics in a manner suggestive to the reader that they know something about the Tantra in question by reason of having initiated. But far from the truth. In fact, in Lama's mean, [illegible] the candidate to receive the teachings of the Tantra because he seven of the fourteen innumerable transgressions of Mahayana great vows (p. 136) in order to tell the secrets to immature or uninitiated, persons."

I went into another aspect of this problem in my talk before the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan 1970, which was published in their *Transactions* (No. XX, 1970).

> Buddhism teaches three kinds of insight. Pali *nanas*, Sanskrit *prajnas*, the [illegible] of hearing or learning (*sruta-mayi prajna*), the [illegible] of meditation or pondering (*cinta-mayi prajna*) and the [illegible] of putting into practice or cultivating in one's life (*bhavanamayi prajna*). There is a revealing example in the first one I met in my recent trip to Dharmasala, Himachal Pradesh, India. In March, 1970, H.H. the Dalai Lama addressed the Kalachakra Initiation via loudspeaker to over 6,000 Tibetans. Afterwards I asked a learned Lama how His Holiness could possibly relate to many, when initiations were usually given to a single or a few disciples. The Lama answered, filled with faith, they came from far-off distances at considerable sacrifice, that showed their suitability. I could add, and they sat for hours listening respectfully and patiently, often under a hot sun without drinking facilities. The idea here is that the one who has faith and endures hardship to hear the teaching has the first level of insight in the Buddhist sense, the insight consisting of hearing. Naturally few of these persons ever go on to the second stage, the insight consisting of pondering, which is inevitable. How has he to ponder? He should receive the handed down procedure in Buddhist meditation. Again, a few, having heard with faith and having pondered again and again, go to the third stage of being exemplars of putting that teaching into practice, the insight of cultivating in one's life.

Therefore, it is undeniable that a person participating in an initiation learns more about the procedure than he knew before. Moreover, there are various vows that are given during the initiation and which the candidates usually have to repeat three times, and of course the serious acceptance of vows and adherence to them in the future, is a matter that differs from

person to person. We must conclude that the mere fact that a person wade were an ordinary person in the sense of being there and simply being, does not prove that he is initiated, empowered, but neither can he be so be categorically denied in his case if he were thought the moments.

The first point is whether anyone can by reading a Tantra say the Guhyasamajatantra, tantra which the world is talking about, and how to proceed to reach a state of Buddhahood in this life indicated. This is an important and most because most of the tantras of the Tantras as being a degenerate cult stems from persons reading even some work of a Tantra and assuming that they know by such bare knowledge what is and the procedures are where as a necessary for actual performance the procedures are concealed in secrecy. For example, he saw a man who knew a man and observed and photographed the annotations for initiation in the eye hands made of red silk, but whereas he saw a dispersal of three hand one would have expected [illegible] upon the eyes but in fact it was wound above the head. Then [illegible] the annotations, now presumably removed replaced the eye band with the pata of the Champa flower placed in the middle of the forehead in the position of the third eye and his arms appeared as part of the [illegible]. Among the offerings presented to the Deva [illegible] as the officiant and initiator was not a [illegible] as one might expect from the Buddha but a [illegible] pots graced with peach blossom [illegible] representing the female element here the earth goddess. But the sign character of the seven pots were not understood by me through attendance at that initiation as it was unknown and understood by the thousands of attendees but rather through consulting the manuscript notes in my possession of the late [illegible] Lessing who [illegible] received the grant [illegible] when I was [illegible] in Peking by the old Panchen Lama and I was able to combine my observations with his.

In essay I give an answer to the present problem although it may not satisfy [illegible] whose degree [illegible] does not understand the basic Tantra just by reading it. The reason is that understanding a Tantra is being able to do it since the Tantra is a type of [illegible] not a philosophical exposition and the basic Tantra is not so sufficiently detailed that a person reading [illegible] could go ahead and do according to the [illegible] of the text. There is in Tibetan tantric practice the Guhyasamajatantra among Ka-ma Tantras and the Sri-Cakrasamvara among Mother Tantras and a few other Tantras became the main Tantras which engaged in the fulfilment of cult because such Tantras have the richest treasure of commentaries and associated [illegible] of [illegible] and lineages brought in [illegible] India. The reason the practitioners of these Tantras do not believe they can understand the basic Tantra of the cult just by reading

Plate 5. Seven lamas with pots (one pot hidden from view). Kālacakra ceremony, March 20-23, 1970, Dharmsala, India. Describing the equivalent ceremony held in Peking, 2-27 October 1937 Ferdinand Lessing wrote in the *Deutsch-Chinesische Nachrichten*, Tientsin, 6 November 1932 (in German "Seven lamas proceed to the podium, each with a large water pot (*kalaśa*) They move it to and fro. It symbolizes the young lady (Tib. *rig ma*) of the initiation who plays such a great role in this cult.

it, even though they have a superior background for understanding it by reading it. If it were possible to achieve understanding in this way. Again this is not to deny that a certain Tantra, by reason of varying lineages, was sometimes practiced differently by its proponents; in short, that the basic Tantra was sometimes understood differently in the authoritative *lineages*.

Now I began this chapter by pointing out that Mantrayāna begins with initiation. Mantrayāna is a synonym of Vajrayāna, the Diamond Vehicle, and a natural question is why call it Mantrayāna, or what is the meaning of mantra in the title Mantrayāna? I have in my possession a Tibetan text which explains this matter as part of the preliminary explanations for the one stage, the higher initiations of the Tantra, and these explanations follow the schools of Mitrayogin and Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvali*.

Mantrayāna. That Tibetan work, which I shall refer to in short as the "Initiation Preliminary," explains:

> It says in the *Kālacakra*: "The characteristic of *mantras* is the mind of all Buddhas, accomplishes the dharma-here possesses the Dharmadhātu, that is said to be the characteristic of *mantras*." For this reason, it is said that mantra is the non-dual wisdom (jñāna) of bliss-void belonging to the mind of all the Buddhas, and it is said that mantra is the deities, and it is said that mantra is the calling after the characteristic of deities, and it is said that mantra is to be kept secret from unwise by vessels (*mod mey ʼjoṅ*). Besides, there are three kinds: *gsaṅ sṅags*, mantras; *rig sṅags* (vidyā), and *gsaṅ sṅags* (dhāraṇī).
>
> (1) *Gsaṅ sṅags*. The *gsaṅ* ("secret") is as stated in the *Śrī Saṃpuṭa* (Chap. One). It is secret because outside the scope of Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Brahmā, śrāvakas, and pratyekabuddhas. As to *sṅags*, mantra, since it incorporates the meanings of the previous explanations, is *mantra* by protecting the mind from signs, from sense objects, and discursive thought. *Sṅa* (pa) as explained in the Continuation of the *Śrī Jñānaḍākamahātantra*, Chap. XVIII. It is as stated in the work *Dbaṅ ston rim pa*. The meaning of the expression mantra is explained as the non-duality of void and compassion. I have explained *man* as the Great Insight (mahāprajñā) not separate from the character of the void; the breath of Vajrasattva. *Tra* has the meaning of protecting. The breath of the Tathāgata as is the method of non-duality of void and compassion. The expression *sṅags* stands for *mantra*. In explanation, *man* is

1 Mi-ba ʼdzin-pa (dhāraṇī) dan rig-pa (vidyā) ni ... dbaṅ chen skabs kyi sṅon gro'i chos bzad

mind, and *tra* is protecting, so it means protecting the performer's mind from signs and discursive thought. As to how it protects, the purpose of mantra is the recitation of the mantra through non-dual engagement of means and insight (upāya-prajñā). That method of cultivation generates the non-dual wisdom of voidness and compassion in the practitioner's stream of consciousness, and because of that method, it is called "mantra."

(2) *Rig snags*: The *Vajraśekhara* states: "Countering *avidyā* (nescience) by overcoming the darkness of passion and by overcoming of defilements, it is called *vidyā*. Hence, it is the preeminent return to destroying faults, and that is the purpose of *vidyā* (occult science)."

(3) *Gzungs snags*: The same work states: "The character of *dhāraṇī-s* is to hold the Buddha-dharmas; its holding is called holding of dharmas and virtue." Hence, it is the preeminent return to holding of merits, and that is *dhāraṇī*.

Besides, Buddhaguhya explains in the *Dhyānottarapaṭalaṭīkā* (Toh. 2670, Derge Tanjur: Rgyud, Thu, 4a-1): "Here a *vidyā* is a deity with the form and shape of a female as well as the sound, gesture (*mudrā*), etc., which manifests her (deity). The reverse of that (i.e. a male deity, etc.) is the characteristic of *mantra*." And the same author says (7b-3): "The passage means: even Ṛṣis cannot make a *mantra* successful when they are not in Meditation (*dhyāna*), how much less could other performers (*sādhaka*)!"

That is the mysterious world into which the initiate enters. And the *Guhyasamājatantra* (Chap. XVIII, Bhattacharyya ed., p. 56, 6-17):

> The pledge (*samaya*) and vow (*saṃvara*) said to be liberated from worldly conduct, when protected by all the "diamonds" (*vajra*), is pronounced "practice of *mantra*."

This passage indicates that the tantric devotee enters upon a new and perhaps secretive life that starts with the vows and pledges of his initiations. The word "vow" (Tibetan *sdom pa*) is a statement taken mentally and ordinarily uttered three times, is in a form easily understood and must hold together, adhere in the disciple's stream of consciousness. The vows are usually of a general nature, holding for the entire Tantra in which the candidate is initiated and for the entire time after his initiation. On the other hand, the "pledge" (Tibetan *dam tshig*) is less comprehensible and may require commentarial or oral expansion to get the meaning. The pledges are not general, but may apply to a particular element of the

Tantra and to a special phase of the practice. Frequently they are in a negative form, pointing to what the disciple should avoid or not engage in.

The vows that are taken by the disciples during initiation are sometimes shared between different initiations and sometimes peculiar to a certain initiation, in which case they are termed "unshared." Examples are one petition and two vows which Geshe Rabten of Dharmsala asked me to translate from Tibetan on behalf of the Europeans who were attending the Kālacakra initiation held 2–23 March, 1970. Each one of these is to be repeated three times by direction of the guru (who in this case was H. H. the Dalai Lama).

> A. (Petition) "Thou my teacher with great joy art the sole savior from the ocean of phenomenal life attended with such dangers as the great water monster of birth, old age, and death. I bow to thee the great lord who is steadfast in the way of the great enlightenment. Grant me this same pledge. Grant me the thought of enlightenment! Grant me the three refuges of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha! O lord, pray introduce me into the exalted city (= the *mandala*) of great liberation!"
>
> B. (Common vow between the Bodhisattva and the Tantra path) "I take refuge in the three jewels, confess all my sins, hold mentally the sympathetic joy with the virtues of (other) living beings, as well as with the Buddha's enlightenment."
>
> C. (Unshared vow, peculiar to the Kālacakra Tantra) "Having conferred upon me the sublime initiation of the irreversible wheel, O lord, pray explain the reality of the gods of the wheel, the wonderous action of the hierophant, the pledge of all the Buddhas, and the highest secret of the vow. So as to serve the aim of all sentient beings may I forever be a hierophant!"

The fact that these three utterances are given here in sequence is no indication of their actual location in the long and elaborate Kālacakra initiation ritual. The time of petition for initiation is when the disciples made the gesture (*mudrā*) of the universe (the four continents and Mt. Meru).

The pledges are special to the different families of Tathāgatas and to different phases of the path. For example, there is the pledge to refrain from the fourteen fundamental transgressions of the Anuttarayoga Tantra. The fourteen are given in *Mkhas grub rje's* (p. 328 note) as follows:

1. To disparage one's master.
2. To transgress the directives of the Buddha.
3. To express anger toward "diamond brothers."
4. To abandon love of the sentient beings.

5. To abandon the Mind of Enlightenment.
6. To disparage the Doctrine of one's own or of another's lineage.
7. To tell the secrets to immature persons.
8. To abuse the five *skandhas* for their nature belongs to the five Buddhas.
9. To have reservations concerning the natures intrinsically pure.
10. To have love for the wicked.
11. To apply discursive thought to the wordless nature.
12. To have belittling thoughts toward the believers.
13. To not adhere to the pledges in the way they were taken.
14. To disparage women, who are the nature of insight.

After Tsongkhapa's individual commentary on those fourteen in his *Dnos grub kyi rgyal mtsan* (PTT, Vol. 146, p. 70-2) he groups them in this way (my summary including material from his individual commentary).

A. *Concerning Dharma.*

(1) Teacher of the Dharma: No. 1: "to disparage one's master" (*dcdrya*).

(2) Associates in accomplishing the Dharma.

(a) Good associates: No. 3: "To express anger toward diamond brothers" who are fellow initiates of the same master. No. 12: "To have belittling thoughts toward the believers" who are fellows for the path.

(b) Bad associates: No. 10: "To have love *merely* for the wicked" (especially those who damage and destroy the Doctrine, but one should have compassion (*karuna*) for them.

(3) Dharma to take to heart: No. 2: "To transgress the directives of the Buddha" which are the three vows of the Vinaya, the Bodhisattva, and the Mantrayana. No. 6: "To disparage the Doctrine of one's own (mantrayana) or of another's (prajñaparamita yana) lineage." No. 7: "To tell the secrets to immature (uninitiated) persons." But Tsongkhapa rejects a certain ignorant opinion that it is a transgression to show esoteric substances such as icons, the *damaru* drum and so on, because the Tantras state the fault in what is revealed to the ear, not in what is revealed to the eye.

B. *Concerning Path.*

(1) Basis of Path: At the time one has generated the Mind of Enlightenment: No. 4: "To abandon love of the sentient beings" by acting waywardly toward the sentient beings. No. 5: "To abandon the Mind of Enlightenment" by abandoning the true nature of the mind.

(2) Nature of Path.

(a) The Stage of Generation (*utpatti-krama*). No. 8: "To

abuse the five *skandhas* for their nature belongs to the five Buddhas; such abuse, including all injury, mortification and suppression. (My forthcoming *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* will clearly show why this transgression applies to the Stage of Generation, because in this Stage there is the meditation of associating the *skandhas* with the respective Buddhas.)

(b) The Stage of Completion (*sampanna-krama*). No. 9: "To have reservations concerning the natures (*dharma*) intrinsically pure." No. 11: "To apply discursive thought to the wordless natures."

(3) Ancillaries of the Path. No. 13: "To not adhere to the pledges in the way they were taken," because pledges are the substance of the path, whether of the Anuttarayoga or of the Yoga Tantra. No. 14: "To disparage women, who are the nature of insight," because women are a hindrance to the path. "Women" are both the mundane kind and the supramundane kind of Vajravārāhī, the Diamond Sow, etc. "Insight" is the knowledge of great bliss (*mahāsukha*). One disparages women either by way of lusting for them or (in overt conduct) by reason of lusting for them.

Initiation of the Mirror

Again, while I do not intend to compete with *Mkhar grub rje*'s authoritative material on initiations—those of the flask and the higher initiations of Anuttarayoga Tantra—nor can a written account take the place of actual participation in these tantric initiations, it is still useful to present one here as found in written form. The "initiation of the mirror" is one of the six in the Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya ritual that corresponds to the role of the five flask initiations as portrayed in *Mkhar grub rje*'s. Besides the intrinsic interest of this initiation, it is especially picked for its brevity, because initiation rituals are frequently of considerable length and detail, whereby their presentation would require too much space for present purposes. This is translated from Tson kha pa's work, "*Dbang gi don gsal ba'i dka' rab tu gsal ba*" (Clarifying the rare ones belonging to the meaning of initiation), (PTT, Vol. 160, pp. 113-4. Previously (p. 109-4-6) he had listed the six initiations as: 1) initiation of water, (2) initiation of the diadem, (3) initiation of the *vajra*, (4) initiation of the bell, (5) initiation of the mirror, and (6) initiation of the name. Now for the initiation of the mirror.

• • •

The placement of the mirror (initiation) in this phase which is the fifth stage, is as done by Kumārabyāh (*Nāgabodhi). In that (i.e. his method) there are two parts, starting with the (eye opening rite).

I. The method of "eye opening" proceeds by reciting and applying (of ointment). (The *guru*) places in a gold or silver vessel the golden eye ointment consisting of butter and honey. While the disciple imagines on his eyes the syllable PRAM, (the *guru*) applies (the eye ointment) with a probe (*śalākā*), reciting OM VAJRANETRA APAHARA PAṬALAṂ HRĪḤ ("Om. Remove the film that is on the diamond eye. Hrīḥ"). He repeats the verse (of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi-tantra*): "Just as the King of Healing (*bhaiṣajya-rāja*) with his probe removed the worldly film, so may the Buddhas dispel your film of ignorance, my son." While he is so reciting, they imagine that the knowledge eye is opened upon removal of the nescience film.

II. Having had his eye opened in that manner, (the disciple) should look upon all *dharmas* as reflected images. So (the disciple) may accomplish that, he (the *guru*) shows a mirror incanted with an ĀḤ and recites:

> All *dharmas* are like reflected images,
> clear and pure, without turbulence
> ungraspible, inexpressible, truly arisen
> from cause and action (*hetu* and *karma*).
>
> Just like Vajrasattva in a mirror that is
> clear, pure, without turbulence, so also
> the Buddhas, in verse words, themselves
> abide in the heart of thee, my son.
>
> Now that you have so understood the *dharmas*
> as without intrinsic nature and without
> location, may you perform incomparably the
> aim of sentient beings, so they may be born
> as sons of the Protectors!

Those verses enjoin the disciple to understand in general that all *dharmas* are like a reflected image and in particular that the Vajrasattva dwelling in one's heart is like a reflected image in a mirror.

* * *

When the third of those three verses speaks of the *dharmas* "as without intrinsic nature" and "without location" it refers respectively to the first and second verses. This is because when the second verse proclaims that "the Buddhas themselves abide in the heart of thee", this is possible with the Mahāyāna position of the "Nirvāṇa of no fixed abode"

(*apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa*), so the Buddha natures (*Buddha-dharma*) can be understood to abide in the disciple's heart while abiding elsewhere. Therefore the second verse is expressed from the standpoint of supreme truth (*paramārtha-satya*), while the first verse, stressing that the *dharmas* are "like reflected images" is expressed with conventional truth (*saṃvṛti-satya*). Since these are crucial points for grasping Mahāyāna Buddhist thought, it is well to expand a little.

The mirror is incanted with an ĀḤ, which suggests breath come to a stop on the mirror and thereby creating insubstantial shapes. The *guru* recites the first verse, "All *dharmas* are like reflected images," to show that all mundane *dharmas* are without intrinsic nature, yet truly arisen from cause and action, i.e. in Dependent Origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*). This is the scope of conventional truth, or *saṃsāra*.

Then the *guru* recites the second verse to show that when the mind is smooth and clear, like a mirror, i.e. when it is plunged in *samādhi*, it can reflect the form of Vajrasattva, treasured in the disciple's heart. But also in this case the Buddhas dwell in the heart, meaning that there is no limitation to their dwelling—whether in this person's or that person's heart, or elsewhere—and so this refers to the supramundane *dharmas* that are without location. This is the scope of supreme truth, or "Nirvāṇa of no fixed abode," not limited to either *saṃsāra* or *nirvāṇa*, but both.

The third verse then alludes to the meaning of this initiation. First the disciple's knowledge eye is opened and then he is brought to a new understanding—about mundane and supramundane *dharmas*—so he can now perform the aim of sentient beings. This shows the meaning of initiation as "maturation" of the candidate, in this case, maturation through the "initiation of the mirror."

8

OFFERING MATERIALS AND THEIR MEANINGS

Among the profusion of ritual implements and other substances of the tantric cults, the offering materials are paramount, because they are the most wide-spread in all the cults and of course stem from practices far more ancient than Buddhism itself. The usual Sanskrit word for "offering" is *pūjā*; the word for "food offering" is *bali*, and for "burnt offering", *homa*. Besides, the notion of an "offering" is generalized, as will be seen below by their classifications.

Classification of Offerings

In tantric commentaries one frequently notices the terminology of "outer" and "inner" offerings. Sometimes the category "secret" is added. Usually the commentators take for granted that the reader knows what is meant. However, some sources do give explanations, and two such will now be presented.

Kukuri-pā in his *Mahāmāyāsādhanamaṇḍalavidhi* (Toh. 1630, Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Ya, 238b-4), states:

> Then he makes offering with outer offerings, from "water for the feet" down to "music." The "inner offering" is the offering to the host (*tshogs*) (of deities) after one has enjoyed the ambrosia. The "secret offering" is the pleasure of the two organs. The "ultimate (*anuttara*) offering" is the contemplation of non-duality.

The second passage is found in the manuscript remains of the late Professor F. D. Lessing. Some unknown perhaps a Mongolian teacher of the Qing the China years, wrote out in Tibetan an explanation of offerings but without indication of a textual source. Here is my translation:

> *Outer offerings: physical method pair.* The diversity of offerings as fears be such as mandala incense flower water for the feet, perfumed water for covering water food lamp music.
>
> *Inner offerings: imaginary method pair.* Having mentally created offerings by way of deities after they have cleansed in one's mind in the manner of a guest one offers them individually to the magnanimous host of deities.
>
> *Secret offerings: great bliss method pair.* Having enjoyed great ecstasy mahamudra as the deities dissolve in oneself one should make offerings in the sense of inseparability of means and insight.
>
> *Concealing offerings: nature method pair.* As the Lotus-nature of all offerings dissolves in true nature and spontaneously appears, one offers them in the sense of non-hindrance in one's mind.
>
> *Symbolic offerings: usage tri method pair.* As one sees delightful things such as flowers, clean water, grains, he makes offering of them to the guru who is the jewel and the great compassionate one.
>
> *Illustrative offerings: wisdom pair, method pair.* Showing that one is free from clinging and attachment to offering of personal substances to wit the body and personality aggregates (skandha) one offers them.

It is apparent that Kukur-pa's four kinds match four of the six in the second as given by Dr. Lessing's lama teacher. The three of the same, the outer, inner and secret, easily agree, and Kukur-pa's category of the mandala offering seems to be the general offering of the other list. Among the six extra ones the symbolic offerings made to the guru are obviously a Tibetan addition because Tibetan Buddhism added a refuge in the guru to the traditional three refuges in Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Notice that the same Tibetan word *rtags* is used for the substances, herbs, etc., inserted in the flasks, and for the usage, while seemingly different, may well be intimately related. The illustrative offerings are a special feature of the perfection of giving (*dana paramita*) of the Bodhisattva path.

Of these various categories, the outer offerings and symbolic offerings are discussed in the present essay; the inner offerings are covered by the five ambrosias in the Tantric Ritual essay; the secret offering is the

such as the use of the material on Twilight Language: the ultimate offering is alluded to in various places of this work, particularly by the description "contemplation of non-duality."

That leaves only the category of illustrative offerings to be further discussed here. In an article of the *Indo-Iranian Journal* (II, 1959, pp. 12–22) I cited Buddhaguhya's commentary on the *Mahāyogottara*, about the "inner burnt offering" (T. *nang gi sbyin sreg*, and even though he uses the word for "inner" the matter is for the illustrative category). Here I repeat my translation of the passage about this kind of offering:

> Moreover, one destroys the five *skandha-skandha* in Voidness (*śūnyatā*), and also destroys the forms of sense objects (*viṣaya*), such as the external hearth (*agnikuṇḍa*), in Voidness. In the same way one individually destroys the issuances of six-doored perception (*vijñāna*), and when they do not issue and are stopped, in the same way the "thought of enlightenment" (*bodhicitta*) which destroys and stops those itself stopped by the non-issuing Insight (*prajñā*), and that abiding in the non-discursive (*avikalpa*) *samādhi* is the Inner Burnt Offering. Hence, one stops the "fire of wind" (*vāyu-agni*) by the non-issuing Insight, and "One makes the burnt offering to fire with the mind (*manas*)." "Stops the fire of wind" means "restrains the *prāṇa* and *āyāma*." "One makes the burnt offering to fire with the mind" means "one burns thought immobile (*acittja* or *anāñja*)."

Here *prāṇa* has the special meaning of winds (*vāyu*), and *āyāma* refers to the mental component; together they make up the term *prāṇāyāma*, since perceptive consciousness rides on these winds, the stopping up of these winds (cf. my section on The Nine Orifices) is tantamount to the burnt offering of mind.

Finally, while it is convenient to have this classification into six for discussion purposes, the fact that the texts generally mention only the first three (outer, inner, and secret), or even just the first two, suggests that the set of six can be reduced to the three, or in any case there is considerable overlap.

The Four Offerings

Buddhaguhya, who has been cited above, is among the greatest commentators in the field of the three lower Tantras (Kriyā, Caryā, and Yoga), and among his most remarkable works is the commentary on the Tantra *Sarvatathāgatapariśodhana*, his *Artha-vyañjana-vṛtti* (later I shall cite it

taught his explanation of the mandala. In the work [illegible] he presents a [illegible] of four offerings into goddesses of various colors, by the following scheme:

Offering	*Color*	*Buddhist Meaning*
perfumed incense	white	morality (*śīla*)
flower	yellow	deep concentration (samādhi)
lamp	red	insight (prajñā)
perfume	green	mind of enlightenment (bodhicitta)

The first three Buddhist terms constitute a well-known set called Three [illegible] [illegible] of the Hīnayāna Buddhists [illegible] Mahāyāna Buddhists [illegible] The mind of enlightenment [illegible] of the Bodhisattva path of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Perfumed incense is used [illegible] the gate, the [illegible] and so it represents morality as a prerequisite [illegible] the path. Hence also the incense [illegible] the [illegible] Mahāyāna Buddhists [illegible] that is represented under the [illegible] of the [illegible] Lotus. The lamp is used for [illegible] and so represents the wisdom [illegible] and [illegible] the path [illegible]

For the flower with the meaning of samādhi we may refer to the teachings of D. T. Suzuki:

> The legendary story of the origin of Zen in India runs as follows: [illegible] was engaged in the Mahāyāna Hīnayāna [illegible] preaching [illegible] of his disciples. He did not speak to any single [illegible] the disciples [illegible] a bouquet of flowers before the assemblage, which was presented to him by one of his disciples. [illegible] understand the meaning of this except the old venerable Mahākāśyapa, who [illegible] the Master. The Master [illegible] fully comprehended the [illegible] meaning [illegible] the mind of enlightenment. The [illegible] has gladdened [illegible] and [illegible] the most precious treasure [illegible] and transcendental, which from moment I hand over to you, O venerable Mahākāśyapa.[1]

The same writer mentions the special verse that sum up the message of Bodhidharma, who introduced Zen into China with his arrival in A.D. 520:[2]

1. *Zen Buddhism: Selected Writings of D. T. Suzuki*, ed. by William Barrett. New York [illegible] p. 38.
2. Ibid., p. 6.

"A special transmission outside the scriptures,
No dependence upon words and letters,
Direct pointing at the soul of man,
Seeing into one's nature and the attainment of Buddhahood."

Hence, yellow—and notice the reference to "golden-tongued mouth" apparently refers to the official color of Buddhism and its emphasis on training the mind.

For the representation of insight by the lamp, *Mkhas grub rje's* (p. 183) has the verse (addressed to the deity)

Pray enjoy these lamps,
Auspicious and triumphant over harmful elements,
Virtuous and dispelling of darkness,
Which I offer with devotion.

The color red is of course that of fire, and shows that the illumination is from a flame. Insight (*prajñā*) in this role of a fire is explained in the *Kāśyapaparipṛcchā*, as cited and expanded near the end of Tsoń-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo*:

Kāśyapa, thus, for example, when two trees are rubbed together by the wind, and fire arises (from the friction), (that fire) having arisen, burns the two trees. In the same way, Kāśyapa, (when natures are analysed) by the most pure discrimination (*pratya-vekṣaṇā*), the faculty of noble Insight (*ārya-prajñā*) arises, and (that Fire) having arisen, it burns up that most pure discrimination itself.

In order to get the sense of perfume colored green that stands for the mind of enlightenment, one can refer to *Mkhas grub rje's* (pp. 31-32), for the third Abhisambodhi when Gautama "saw directly that Samantabhadra of the former thought of enlightenment under the shape of an upright five-pronged white thunderbolt in his own heart," for which reason (*infra*), perfumes are offered to the heart. See the note to those pages of *Mkhas grub rje's*. Samantabhadra is the knowledge of the pledge. This agrees with D. T. Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (pp. 230-36), on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*'s ten vows of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. In Tibet the green Samantabhadra is the Bodhisattva aspect of the "primordial Buddha" (*ādibuddha*) (for which see Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 236), and protector of the Tibetan Rńiń-ma-pa sect. Here "primordial Buddha" means knowledge of the vow of enlightenment, or seed *bodhicitta*. The applicability of perfume is suggested by *Mkhas grub*

rje 2 (p. 18) verse to the deity "These auspicious perfumes ," because the word translated "auspicious" is *bzang po*, part of the Tibetan name Kun-tu-bzang-po (Samantabhadra), literally "auspicious," so the perfume conveys the auspiciousness of the "mind of enlightenment." This seems also to be the meaning of the Green Tara, because of the legend that in one of her former lives she was a queen who vowed that in her future life she would always be a woman and would eventually in the incarnation of a woman become a Buddha, which she did become.

Oblations to the Deities

Concerning the offerings to the deities to be residents and the offering of seats, with the oblations and others such as the feet-cooling water, cf. *Mahāsaṃgraha* (pp. 11 13). Śāntideva (p. 7 to 2 lists the places where they are offered. The feet-cooling water, because it washes the feet, is imagined as offered to the feet of the deity. The bath, to the entire body, or to the reflected image of the body. The oblations, in front, or to the head. The flowers, to the head. Perfumed incense and lamps, in front. Food, to the gods, in front, to the hands, or to the face. And one imagines the perfume offered to the heart. These traditions are common to all tantras.

Mahāsaṃgraha (p.) has a fine summary statement of the oblations used for the invitation:

> The invitation must be done with an oblation (*argha*), which therefore must be prepared beforehand. The vessel for it is of gold, silver, and so forth, and a complete vessel is auspicious for all occasions in common. For appeasing rites, *śāli* rice and their superior *yāvaka* barley and milk are required. For rites to increase prosperity, rice and the middling *yāvaka*, sesamum and sour milk are needed. For dread rites, *yāvaka* and the inferior *yāvaka*, ordinary barley, together with meat or blood is offered up. Parched rice, fragrant odors, white flowers, *kuśa* grass and sesamum mixed in pure water, which are auspicious for all rites in common, are prepared and scented with the odors of incense. One blesses the oblation by reciting seven times an appropriate one among the general *dhāraṇī*s of the Vidyārāja and of the Tathāgatas, among the *dhāraṇī*s of the families of the individual Tathāgatas, or among the *dhāraṇī*s of Invitation.

That passage, however, does not give the complete list of oblations in the several cases. Śāntideva (p. 7 to 7 sets forth two lists of seven oblations each. For appeasing rites there are: 1 barley, 2 milk, 3 white flowers, 4 *kuśa* grass, 5 sesamum, 6 parched rice, and 7 ambrosia.

[illegible] **not presented for dreadful rites?**

[illegible]

[illegible] **piece of black cloth**

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (Leipzig, 1954), pp. 584-609

[illegible]

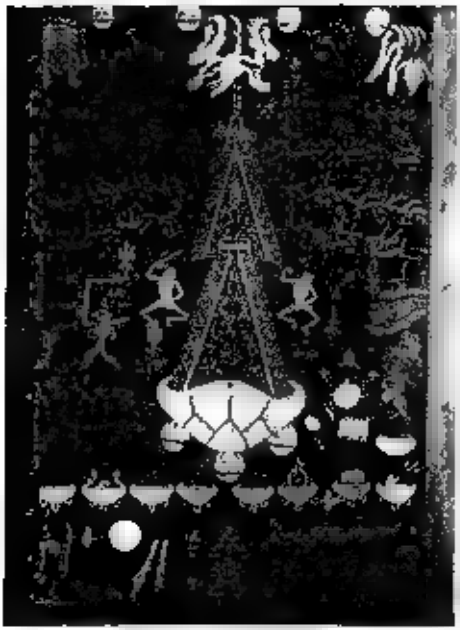


PLATE 6. Zor for Yama and Yama Offerings.

is coupled with a rite, on which he himself did much study,[7] called the "bath of the Buddha." In the course of the rites associated with Avalokiteśvara (the eleven-headed variety with an "eye-wound" in each of his thousand hands), this deity is invoked to slake the thirst of the starving ghosts (preta) in the verse:[8]

> May the starving spirits be satiated,
> bathed and always cooled by the streams
> of milk flowing from the hands of
> Ārya-Avalokiteśvara.

The officiant acting the role of Avalokiteśvara, pours some water to his left or right or into a small bowl placed to the right of the food vessel, while making the incantation, OṂ ĀḤ HRĪḤ HŪṂ OṂ MAṆI PADME HŪṂ OṂ JALAṂ IDAṂ SARVA PRETEBHYAḤ SVĀHĀ "Om Āḥ Hrīḥ Hūṃ Om Maṇi Padme Hum Om. his water to all the starving spirits, Svāhā." Observe that milk is one of the "three whites."

Materials Inserted in the Flasks

The Buddhist Tantras and their commentaries frequently mention certain ritual materials in sets as the five herbs, five perfumes, five essences, five grains, and five jewels, and sometimes the five ambrosias. The different works do not always itemize the members of each set the same. Tsoṅ-khapa's *Shags rim chen mo* (fol. 93a), has a number of these lists for the items to be placed within the ritual flask. Of course these materials do not necessarily all go into the same flask, and the *Shags rim* (93b to 94a) gives various theories. According to *Mkhas grub rje's* "Preparation of the flask" (pp. 287 ff.) there are two main kinds of flask, the victorious flask (*vijaya-kalaśa*) for the time of initiation and the action flask (*karma-kalaśa*) for general sprinkling purposes. The gods are generated in the victorious flask.

I found a number of itemizations of the fivefold sets in the commentaries on the *kāya-vākcitta-dhāraṇī*. The commentary by Smṛti relates these to the body, speech, mind, marvellous action (*karma*), and merits (*guṇa*) of the deity, as shown in the following table, along with more or less standard listings in each set.

7. F. D. Lessing, "Structure and Meaning of the Rite Called the Bath of the Buddha According to Tibetan and Chinese Sources," *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, pp. 59.

8. My own translation of the Tibetan verse which I find reproduced by Lessing in his manuscript study of the "Hundred-fold Offerings." I do not possess the Tibetan work he utilized, but only the very abbreviated form of the rite in a little treatise entitled, *Gtor ma brgya rtsa lha ra bsdus pa*.

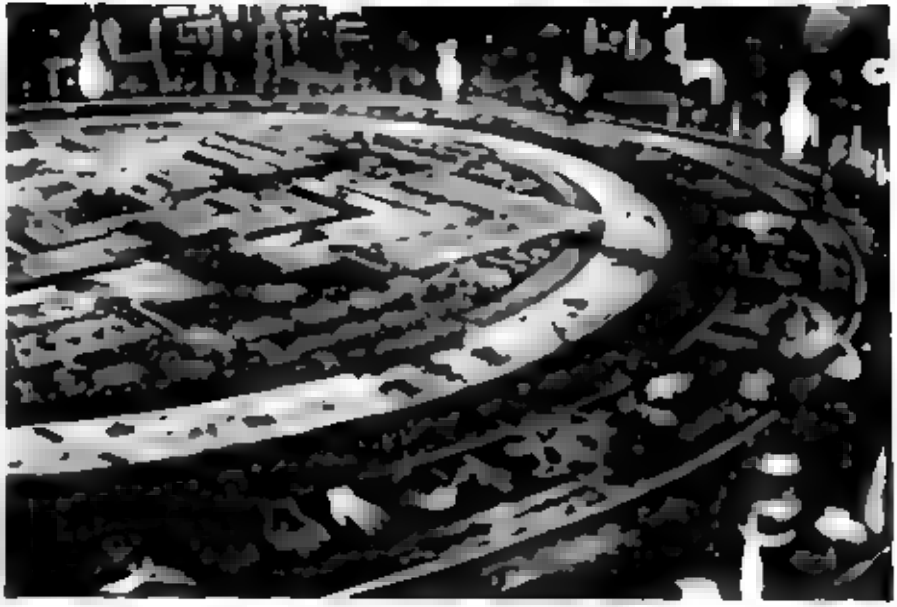


Plate [illegible] Mandala (Mirror for the Liberation) (Pilang 1992)

TABLE 7

MATERIALS IN THE FLASKS

SUPERINTENDENCE		SYMBOLIC SUBSTANCES (RTAGS)
Body	Herbs (5):	bihati, kandakari, white aparajita, white and red dandi flower
Speech	Perfumes (5):	sandal, musk, saffron, aloe, incense
Mind	Essences (5):	sesamum, salt, butter, molasses, honey
Marvellous Action	Grains (5):	mustard seed, barley, fodder barley, sesame, peas
Merits	Jewels (5):	sapphire or another precious gem, coral, gold, pearl, crystal

The commentary (Toh. 2687) by Jñānavajra says of the five essences: (1) the essence from earth is sesamum, (2) from water is salt, (3) from cream is butter, (4) from a tree, molasses, (5) from flowers, honey. The commentary (Toh. 2688) by Vimalamitra substitutes for (1) and (2) the fire-crystal and the moon-crystal, presumably as the essence of the sun and the moon).

The greatest variety seems to be in the list of herbs. The list in the table is from the *Shags rim chen mo*. Jñānavajra gives instead: vyakri, sahkri, jirikarṇikā, hasa, hasadeva.

Also, the *Shags rim*, folio 195b-3, states that the herbs, grains, and jewels are explained in the *Hevajra-tantra* tradition as tokens (*rtags*) respectively of the mind of enlightenment, heart, and bodily color of the maṇḍala-deities. On the same folio, Tsoḥ-kha pa quotes Kukurāja's *Samayogamaṇḍalavidhi* (Toh. 671): "The five herbs are the mind of enlightenment of the compassionate one; the grains are the self-existence of the gods; the five kinds of jewels are the light of their bodies; the essences are the heart-realm of knowledge; the perfumes are the victorious merits of virtue." Of course, these correspondences in commentaries on the Anuttarayoga Tantra differ from those which Snjī gives in a Kriyā Tantra commentary, and this suggests that the commentaries on the different Tantra divisions, Kriyā, Carya, Yoga, and Anuttarayoga, may have their own way of working out the correspondences to the fivefold sets.

9

SYMBOLISM OF THE MAṆḌALA-PALACE*

I. Varieties of maṇḍala symbolism

The Tibetan diagrams called *maṇḍala*, usually in the form of square paintings, have aroused much interest in the West. These *maṇḍalas* are especially depicted with an ornamented circular border which encloses a two-dimensional form of a four-sided palace. The present study is not meant to convey a thorough account of the rich symbolism involved, but to show what light can be cast on the subject by selected passages from authoritative works. For this purpose, the abbreviation PTT with volume number will be used for citations from the Japanese photographic edition of the Peking Tibetan canon. The abbreviation *Sñags rim* refers to Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Sñags rim chen mo* in a separate Peking blockprint. The works of Ratnākaraśānti (known to the Tibetans as Śānti-pā) have been especially helpful.

Introducing the palace

The palace demands a proper setting. For example, in Ratnākaraśānti's *Mahāmāyāsādhana* (*Sādhanamālā*, No. 239), we read: "One should contemplate as below, a spot of earth made of diamond; across, a diamond enclosure; above, a tent; in the middle, a dreadful burning ground" (adho vajramayīṃ bhūmiṃ tiryag vajraprākāraṃ upari vajrapañjaraṃ

* Under the title "Contributions on the Symbolism of the Maṇḍala-Palace," the first part of the present study was published in *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris, 1971, which may be consulted for the Tibetan and Sanskrit passages here omitted.

madhye ghoṣaṃsaṅkhyam vibhāvya. The text continues: "In the midst of that, one sees a palace with a single courtyard and made entirely of jewels with four corners, four gates, decorated with four arches, having four altars, and radiant with nets and so on, and with nymphs (tanmadhye kūṭāgāraṃ ekapuṭaṃ sarvaratnamayaṃ paśyet caturasraṃ caturdvāraṃ catustoraṇabhūṣitaṃ hāradyair apsarobhiś ca bhāsvad vedicatuṣṭayaṃ //).[1]

Besides, the palace can be understood as the transformation of the body, in the context of which *Snagsrum* 2.46-61 cites the Explanatory Tantra of the Guhyasamāja, the *Maṇḍala*: "The body becomes a palace, the hallowed basis of all the Buddhas (sku lus mngal gzhi yas khab du gyur pa sangs rgyas kun gyi yan dag rten). When the body of the yogin has this transformation he is called the Diamond Being (Vajrasattva), as in this passage of the *Śrī Paramādya-tantra* (PTT, Vol. 5, p. 72.2):

> Surrounded by a diamond line, beautified with eight posts, decorated with four gates, arches, altars, banners and half-banners, and so on. How is Vajrasattva understood as the principal meaning there? Because he has marks born of the sky, is supreme without beginning or end, the great self-existence (svabhāva) of Vajrasattva is said to be the Glorious Supreme Primordial (*śrī paramādya*).[2]

Explanation of the parts of the palace

Undoubtedly, the Tanjur (commentarial portion of the Tibetan canon) contains many commentaries on the basic palace terminology. Invariably, such elements as the four gates are identified with categories of the Buddhist path, thus indicating that Vajrasattva is the synthetic paragon of all Buddhist accomplishments. The first solution comes from the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-tantrarāja* (PTT, Vol. 5, p. 58.5), verses 17–23 in my counting:

> 17. Where the *maṇḍala* is explained is the sublime mental *maṇḍala*. The palace is knowledge (*jñāna*), erection of an edifice of consciousness.
>
> 18. The four outer corners establish equality of measure. The mind of mantra, etc., is explained as the four lines.
>
> 19. The recollection (*smṛti*) of *dharma* is explained as the

1. The Tibetan translation (Tohoku No. 1843, Derge Tanjur, Rgyud 'grel, Va, 276a-7) enables us to establish Sanskrit. Tibetan equivalents for some important terms: Sanskrit: *ayatanaṃ*, Tibetan: *skye mched kyi gzhi*; Sanskrit: *aprakāra*, Tibetan: *ri rab*; Sanskrit: *kūṭāgāra*, Tibetan: *gtsug lag khang*; Sanskrit: *puṭa*, Tibetan: *khyams*; Sanskrit: *gavākṣa*, Tibetan: *gru bu*; Sanskrit: *dvāra*, Tibetan: *sgo*; Sanskrit: *toraṇa*, Tibetan: *ta ba'i*; Sanskrit: *dhvaja*, Tibetan: *rgyal mtshan*; Sanskrit: *vedi*, Tibetan: *steg bu*.

2. This passage introduces some more terms of which the equivalences are not in doubt: Sanskrit: *vajra*, Tibetan: *rdo rje*; Sanskrit: *stambha*, Tibetan: *ka ba*; Sanskrit: *vedi*, Tibetan: *khe khyer*; Sanskrit: *aṭṭahāsa*, Tibetan: *dga' byed*.

diamond line. The liberation from all views is explained as the knowledge line.

120. The holy collection of morality is referred to as "ornament" (*alaṃkāra*). The thoughts of independence, and so on, have realized the five hopes.

121. The four liberations (*vimokṣa*) are the gates. The four right elimination-exertions (*samyak-prahāṇa*) are the arches and involve posts.

122. The four stations of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*) are understood as the four courtyards. The four bases of magical power (*ṛddhi-pāda*) are the four gate projections (*nirvyūha*).[3]

123. The seven angles of enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*) are the adornment with garlands and flower bundles. The eightfold Noble Path is explained as the eight posts.

Following are extracts from the commentary on the foregoing by Ratnākaraśānti, his *Śrī-sarvavajrācārya-nibandha-vajrācārya-pradīpa-nāma* (PTT, Vol. 76, p. 12-1,2,3)

> "Sublime" (*dam pa*) because it is comprised by the Sambhoga-kāya. "Knowledge" means insight (*prajñā*). The equality of the four sides in terms of external measurement, is the "four lines" in reality; it is friendliness (*maitrī*), etc., that is, friendliness, compassion, sympathetic joy and impartiality. Because they take the sentient beings as object, the four boundless states (*apramāṇa*) of friendliness, etc., are called "boundless." When they take as object the sentient beings involved with the realm of desire, they are called the "pure abodes" (*brahma-vihāra*). In the first case, see verse 119, the line is the reality (*tattva*); in the second case, it is the knowledge (*jñāna*). The five hopes are the faculties of faith, etc.

Turning to the Guhyasamāja-tantra cycle, there are two main commentarial traditions: that headed by Buddhajñānapāda and that headed by the tantric Nāgārjuna. Here one finds an interesting but overly brief explanation in Buddhajñānapāda's *Caturaṅga-sādhanopāyika-samantabhadra-nāma*, PTT Vol. 65, p. 19, which has been overly expanded in Samantabhadra's *Caturaṅga-sādhana-ṭīkā-śramaṇajaṭā-nāma*, PTT Vol. 65, p. 1-6. The following summary will present the principal details of this position.

The officiant recites the formula *Oṃ sarvadharmā avabodha svabhāva ātmako haṃ*. He then imagines in the triangular *dharmodaya* (T. *chos byung*)

3. Here is the equivalence, S. *nirvyūha*, T. *sgo khyud*.

the syllable BHRŪM —[4]

4. Here we have S. *sneni*, T. *mu khyud*

> [illegible] with [illegible] [in all the parts of] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] and so on."[5]

[illegible] has well commented in his [illegible] PTT [illegible] p. 74. He has employed the [illegible] meaning [illegible] and [illegible] meaning [illegible] between the [illegible] represented mandala on the one hand, and the body mandala on the other.

A. *[illegible] Meaning.* The spread of the rampart perimeter [illegible] the four [illegible] [illegible] on both sides of each gate [illegible] eight [illegible] among them

---

[4] [illegible] trunks" (S. [illegible], T. [illegible]).

[5] [illegible] p. 30.

the Jaya and Mangala are in the East, the Prabhāvatī and Siddhi in the South, Vijaya and Sālā in the West, [illegible] and [illegible] in the North. These are the nature of the [illegible] of the [illegible]. The posts are eight, [illegible] are [illegible] each on each gate, their adornment is as before. Mātṛkas [illegible] because they are the protectors of the Mandala.[1] Bindu is the union of bindu, means nature, the summit of the arches, there are two pedestals [illegible] in the East, [illegible] in the South, [illegible] in the West, [illegible] in the North, because they are the pedestals of pillars. [illegible] are banners along with bells [illegible] peals from the tops of the banners, and are possessed of sets of banners and bells. Aga [illegible] with dewdrops and so on, means dewdrops, which are made of [illegible] flower garlands. Adhorna means adorned with them (the banners etc.), which are the possessions of the nine divinities of the sacred scriptures. The foregoing. Hinted Meaning, [illegible]

8 *Esoteric Meaning.* Among these, Mātṛkas are the body. Eight posts are the eight [illegible] and [illegible] posts are the [illegible] organs [illegible] male and female. The posts are [illegible] the [illegible] are the [illegible] back, right and left sides. Four gates are [illegible] place, here the hear[illegible] and [illegible] are the [illegible] and [illegible] ears. That [illegible] Rudra [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible]. The eight posts are [illegible] with the [illegible] and the [illegible] lights. The "bell" [illegible] the [illegible] in the subsidiary [illegible] sounding "[illegible]". The bell-[illegible] is the

[1] The [illegible] are of [illegible] the Bindu-[illegible] Mandala and the Bindu-Mandala having a total of eleven.

[illegible] the Brahmacārī [illegible] [illegible] to be arranged in the five [illegible] of the [illegible].

> [illegible] which is the part of means [illegible] the [illegible] The [illegible] (The foregoing [illegible] Meaning [illegible])

There [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

four equal lines according to the *Sūtras* can be really boundless, just as was set forth above from the *Sarvarahasya-nāma-tantra-rāja*

> The equal measure of the "fire mountain" (Sāgaparvata, Tib. me ri) in all directions has the meaning of equal measure of emitting rays, but it is not the case that the four small parts (segments) do not continue further. Hence, he says that one does not prepare the painting of powdered colors as its ceiling — continues on without measure. In all the directional angles, the fire heap keeps on — hence that, the diamond enclosure has the nature of the outer wall of the world *maḍḍalaya dta*, which is thick and compact. Furthermore, this *ḍaḍaya* presumably Kuh Rlo mtsan ānta, has the meaning of — contemplation goes from the world-mandala below to the Akaniṣṭha above, so it is necessary to understand — reverse the "[illegible]" *[illegible]* of the diamond spot. The sort of *vajra* may be either five-pronged, three-pronged, or a [illegible] *vajra* (crossed thunderbolt) — and if painted, it is to be made accordingly. Our school holds that the circular line which encloses the *vajra* and the *padma* symbolizes the Dharmodaya, and if there is contemplation of the Dharmodaya, it is (done) that way.

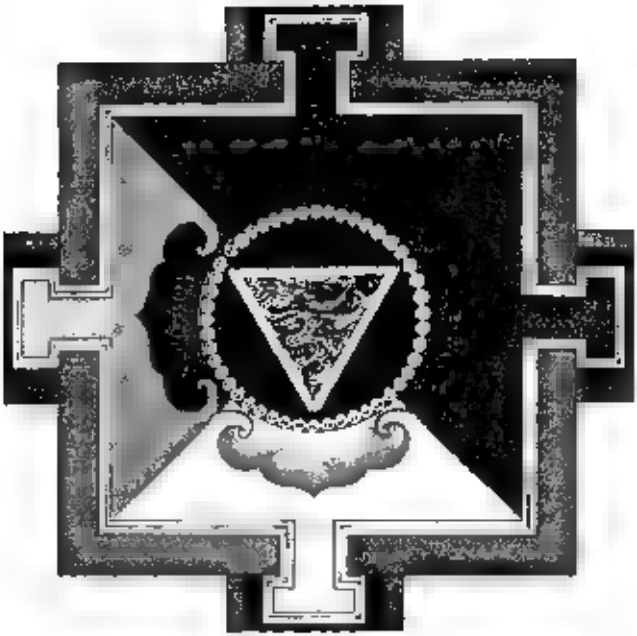
According to that position of Tsong-kha-pa, although the texts frequently describe the *dharmodaya* as a triangle, one should contemplate it as an inner circle on the case of concerning the *mandala*.

The Triangular Dharmodaya

The Dharmodaya as a triangle is apparently shown in a *mandala* in my possession only in photographic form (original presumably in Stockholm, the Hedin collection). Unfortunately, it is not sufficiently clear for further reproduction.

Here, what I take to be the Dharmodaya triangle is within the inner circle which is surrounded by four petals suggesting the *mandala* of the heart described later in my essay on the inner *Yoga*. Previously, it was noted that in the *Caturanga-sādhana* the officiant imagines himself adorned with a triangle, a crossed thunderbolt, in the triangular Dharmodaya (= *dharmadhātu*) as source of natures. Presumably, this is also what Śākyaśrī refers to in his *Kṛṣṇayamāri-sādhana-nāma* (PTT, Vol. 85, p. 298-5), verse 18:

> From which (sphere) arises the auspicious member
> a white triangular Dharmodaya,
> located above like the sky,
> with a white padma-vajra in the middle



Mandala of the Triangular Dharmodaya

In the present case the "diamond thread" which surrounds the inner circle is strung with skulls, and within the triangle instead of the *vivavajra*—which is a stuff structure—there is what seems to be a free representation of the *svastika* in its meaning (as Buddhaguhya will be cited below) of the union of means and insight, or of the male and female, symbolized by the *vajra* and the *padma*. This becomes clear when the small, diffuse, triangular area of the photograph is viewed under a microscope. The figure within the triangle seems to consist of two scarves crossing each at their mid-points where they are tied together, which the artist has embellished in wave fashion. On the facing page is a drawing of the central area only of this particular *maṇḍala*.

* * *

The figure within the drawing is such that it can be turned in any direction. In any case, the triangle, while drawn pointing downwards, need not be so construed because it is part of a two-dimensional representation of the three-dimensional palace. In the *Guhyasamājatantra* tradition, as in Tson-kha-pa's annotation commentary on the *Pradīpoddyotana* (PTT Vol. 158, p. 13-3), there is a triangle called the "E-triangle" after the shape of the letter "*e*" in an Indian alphabet, meaning the lotus of the *vāyu*, and also meaning the three liberations (the voidness, wishless, and signless).

II Symbolism of maṇḍala ritual

Mkhas grub rje's *Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*[2] contains a fund of basic data, but scattered here and there for our present purposes. Let us recall the line cited from the *Sarvarahasya-nāma-tantrārdha*: "Where the *maṇḍala* is explained as 'the sublime mental *maṇḍala*,'" on which Ratnākarasaṃti comments: "sublime because it is comprised by the Sambhoga-kāya." This indicates that the *maṇḍala* can be understood to represent the palace of the Akaniṣṭha heaven, where according to Mahāyāna tradition (say, the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*), Gautama was initiated as a Complete Buddha with the body called Sambhoga-kāya. This Akaniṣṭha heaven is considered to be at the top of the world at the limit of the "pure abodes" of the "Realm of Form" (*rūpa-dhātu*). Mkhas grub rje's work contains the tradition that this Sambhoga-kāya teaches only Bodhisattvas of the Tenth Stage. The implication is that the *maṇḍala* constitutes the re-establishment of the heavenly arrangement. It amounts to saying that mythologically the advanced Bodhisattvas ascend to the Akaniṣṭha heaven to receive the instruction of the Sambhoga-kāya, and that in practice they construct a

2. *Op. cit.*, note 7, above.

mandala. Mikhas grub rje's work clarifies that the *mandala* must be more than constructed: it must be realized. The *mandala* is constructed in the order of steps generally employed in the Tibetan hieratic paintings. First, there is a sketch according to the rules. In the Tantra, this is called the *karma-line*, which is white. Then areas are given appropriate colors. In the Tantra, this is called the *skhon-ma*, with lines of five colors representing the five Buddhas, and Mikhas grub rje explains that five sets of threads of five colors, making a total of twenty-five, are twisted together to constitute the *skhon-ma*. Lastly, the details are put in. In the Tantra, this is the last stage of *mandala*-construction: the erection of an edifice.

Besides, that author Vajrasarman (op. cit., p. 133, fol. 5) says, "There are two functions: *mandala* in the method of the Dharmakāya and with the method of the Sambhogakāya. He goes on to illustrate the "method of the Dharmakāya" as the five knowledges which are the nature of the five Buddhas, starting with the Dharmadhātujñāna which is the basis of all supramundane knowledge and which has the nature of Vairocana. If one follows the terminology in the tradition of the *Mahāvairocana-tantra* which leads up to the two *mandalas* of the Japanese Shingon school, the method of the Dharmakāya might be a *mandala* representing the Diamond Realm (*vajradhātu*) and the method of the Sambhogakāya might be a *mandala* representing the Nature Realm (*dharmadhātu*). The *mandala* of the Diamond Realm is inexpressible, and that of the Nature Realm is expressible.[13]

The reflected-image mandala

The following materials are based on six verses in a Tantra of the Yoga class referred to briefly as the *Sarvadurgati-parisodhana*, Purification of all evil destiny.[14] While there are several extensive commentaries on this Tantra preserved in Tibetan translation, I shall translate here only the one by Buddhaguhya in his work of reconstructed title *Durgati-pariśodhanāvatāra-nāma-ṭīkā*. From the six verses *śloka*s of the Tantra (PTT, Vol. 5, p. 84-4,5, translated from the Tibetan:

> One should start by blessing the place with a rite of whatever be the sort: a vihāra, upavana, stūpa, devakula, ārāma, etc.
>
> 2-3 One should draw the outer mandala in that place which has been blessed, to wit: possessed of four corners, four gates, four arches, adorned with four staircases and garland-bows, built, adorned with silk, tassels, pendent necklaces, garland, bells, yak tails.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

14. The [illegible] of the Tantra as entered in the catalogs of the Tibetan canon is Sarvadurgati-parisodhana-uparitaṇḍa-adhiṣṭānaya-arhate-samyaksambuddhāya namo namaḥ.

4. One should adorn it with the seals (mudrā) of diamond, jewel, lotus, svastika. It should possess eight lines, and be adorned with outer gate projections.

5A. One should dress it in nine parts and render the gates and gate projections into three parts.

5B. The casting of thread with diamond line is the casting of thread of the center maṇḍala.

6. Like the wheel of the law, it has sixteen spokes along with a nave. It is possessed of a triple series, and the spokes are to be doubled.

Next I translate Buddhaguhya's commentary on these verses in the section which he calls "the concise meaning of the *maṇḍala*" (PTT Vol. 76, p. 22[illegible] to 23-1). Because of certain illegible spots in the photographic edition I also consulted the Narthang Tanjur edition. I shall use superscript letters, starting with "a" to indicate the paragraphs of my annotation which follows the translation.

* * *

Now I shall teach about the reflected image of the conceptual basic *maṇḍala*. Why so? Because this is said to be the external *maṇḍala*. As to its being external, the method of constructing the reflected image *maṇḍala* of powdered colors appears in the sensory domain of the five sense organs. The "*maṇḍa*" is the inner palace, and the "*la*" is the wheel possessed of spokes, and possessed of six gates, gates, and corners.[a] The meaning expressed below has the pure tones from the mouth of my guru.

1. *The vihāra and the upavana*. It is said that the *vihāra* (temple) kind is made within the confines of a monastery. The *upavana* (grove) kind occurs variously on a spot of ground that is smooth.

The stūpa, devakula, ārāma. The *stūpa* kind occurs where there are relics of the body. The *devakula* (shrine) is a residence for mundane gods. The *ārāma* (garden) is drawn in a place where many persons congregate.

With a rite of whatever be the sort. "Of whatever be the sort" indicates of whatever sort of place, of whatever sort of implements, and of whatever sort of incantation expert, incantation assistant, and patron. The "rite" involves the place, (the investigating, permission) of a visible king, or of an invisible deity, and so forth. In this case there is the sequence (1) the spot where it will be done, and the search for a good spot, (2) begging permission to do the stipulated activities according to the rules, (3) using incantation (*mantra*), gesture (*mudrā*), and deep concentration (*samādhi*) to bless it into the mind of enlightenment which is the nature of the five knowledges, (4) examining the self-existence and characteristic of earth, (5) contemplating according to the rite, (6) beseeching to know according

to be rite doing the ritual methodically and not wavering in mandala." Why so?

One should bless the place. There are four kinds of blessing. — blessing the place into the true nature of knowledge. — blessing the place of the diamond mandala arising from the mandala mind. — blessing the place of concepts — names into the diamond-mandala. — blessing the mandala of gathered colors as a place of material marks. — into a dwelling place for the Buddha.

[illegible] *In that place which has been blessed* in the manner that is thousand [illegible] one blesses the defilements into purity by using the power of mandala knowledge.

One should draw the outer mandala. Cognition manifests. One must visualize the mandala mandala. The outer mandala is a collected image of [illegible] and in wide [illegible] the expansion of the outer mandala.

Powerful of the outer and the power [illegible] the four elements as [illegible] and [illegible] as [illegible]

Powerful [illegible] *and garland.* The [illegible] of the mandala and are made of [illegible] the gateways. The [illegible] are made of [illegible] The garland [illegible] and arches and [illegible] garland. Besides [illegible] by [illegible] the arches consisting of the four boundaries [illegible] with the [illegible] consisting of the four [illegible] and with the garland consisting of [illegible] and [illegible] the eight [illegible]

Adorned [illegible] *and* [illegible] There are [illegible] with great compassion [illegible] of mandala. There are [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible]

Adorned [illegible] *pendant necklace, garland bells, and silk tassels.* They are on the left and right of the gates. [illegible] has the meaning of the kinds of knowledge. Tassels or [illegible] are the pure nature of body, speech, and mind. Pendant necklace [illegible] a hanging necklace of pearls standing for the [illegible] Garland [illegible] a pearl garland surrounding the central necklace. [illegible] are [illegible] because [illegible] are the pearls of speech. [illegible] the [illegible] and made of pearl [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] free from fault [illegible] the mind [illegible]

4. *One should adorn it with the outer mandala of diamond jewels below,*

and rupaka. The 'diamond' means a round fence of diamond, i.e. an unconstructed fence like diamond consisting of wisdom-knowledge *vajra-dhātu*. With a garland of jewels there is the inner circle of the palace, it arises through an array of other merits. Lotus is the special thing with the various wonderful goddesses, it means the aim of living beings, i.e. the great compassion of Buddha, the means while being unattached. The *vajra* that is an angular cross of separation, he means. It is a symbol of the union of means (*upāya*) and insight (*prajñā*). Adorn it means ornamentation to beauty, the reflected image and ornamentation to clarify the appreciation of inner wisdom.

It should possess eight lines and be adorned with outer gate protectresses. The lines, i.e. threads, mean contemplation, in the manner of the mind of enlightenment. Having eight means is decorated with four-coloured threads and four inner threads, making eight. Possessing the eight lines means, he the person with the right good luck symbols, in his body, has the six kinds of contemplation. Outer gate protectresses are the gate-bands (*upa-bhāg pa*), i.e. leading for the means of entering by mandala, the perpendicular. Adorned with four lines means, here lesser, non-rule, he gates exhibited by, we, e gates. This means that in order to arrive he wonderful beings of the three realms away from the worst members of dependent organisation, there is the Buddha in the method of the worst. According here, gate means, he, in a quadruple sense, is, rule, is a method of passing the four kinds of the impure by means of his own knowledge. That is the meaning of adorning.

'A. *One should divide the nine parts and render the parts and gate protectresses in three parts*. This means, he, because one perches with compassion the three realms and the nine stages, one explains, he single face of he mandala as being nine parts. One should render the gates and gate protectresses, means, i.e. one should render the gates and gate protectresses by he, i.e. one, i.e. cleaning the mind, and cleaning, he, and because that perfects body, speech and mind, one explains that there are three parts.[6]

Thus teaches the teaching of Indra differentiation.[7] Now to teach the meaning of the inner. Why so?

'B. *The casing of thread with diamond, i.e. the casing of thread of the center mandala*. Diamond is taken as the fence, because, he blessed diamond of enlightenment. The, i.e. taken as the thread which is the means of showing, he and that. The center, i.e. taken as a round palace which, he symbol standing for the *dharmadhātu*. The thread, i.e. he diamond thread of wisdom, i.e. and, i.e. he, taken as, he great, bliss contemplation, he mind of enlightenment. From that thread, with the magical performance (*pratihārya*) of blessing, emanate the rays of knowledge (*jñāna*) which exhort the illustrious hearts of the noble ones

and bless by performing the rite of initiation beings. Casting the [illegible] thread [illegible] the thread [illegible] blessed and is [illegible] knowledge means casting the [illegible] thread [illegible] and the [illegible] thread casting. By so casting the pure brahma thread [illegible] is blessed into purity or brahmā.

[illegible] the wheel of the law. Here wheel means that when [illegible] has a [illegible] and spoken [illegible] a wheel [illegible] when one hears [illegible] the [illegible] the wheel [illegible] The [illegible] wheel [illegible] Because [illegible] is said to be the wheel of the law [illegible] understanding [illegible] the [illegible] the meaning [illegible] down [illegible] of [illegible] takes as [illegible] and [illegible] The [illegible] day [illegible] the [illegible] The [illegible] of [illegible] passion [illegible] means [illegible] and [illegible] and the [illegible] are [illegible] passion. The [illegible] as a [illegible] is taken as the [illegible] stage [illegible] of [illegible] world. In [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] knowledge [illegible] are [illegible] the [illegible] of desire there is the Sambhogakāya. The points be examples of the Nirmāṇakāya. What is the reason for that?

[illegible] spoken along with a name. The name which is the circular palace [illegible] Along [illegible] means [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] of desire [illegible] the Sambhogakāya. The spokes [illegible] the wheel [illegible] are the perfection of compassion and are the Nirmāṇakāya. Why so?

[illegible] The [illegible] is established as three [illegible] The points [illegible] are [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] Among them the [illegible] represent the [illegible] Nirmāṇakāya. The [illegible] Among [illegible] the [illegible] represent the [illegible] as [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] great [illegible] The spokes of the right [illegible] are the Nirmāṇakāya [illegible] represent the Nirmāṇakāya [illegible] The [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] because [illegible] the mind [illegible] the Great Vehicle [illegible] the [illegible] of performing the [illegible] of [illegible]

beings by way of the body and speech of the Tathāgata and by installing the living beings that way among the Bodhisattvas.[3] Now to teach the aim of the wheel.

The spokes are to be doubled. This means that the spokes are doubled at the nave of the wheel, but the painting does not include the garland of jewels of the center. Moreover, it is because the garland of jewels and the aforementioned doubling take rise from the nave that the spokes are to be doubled. It is said that there is doubling for the sake of performing the aim of living beings by way of the means and insight.

The concise meaning of the *maṇḍala* is finished.

* * *

Subsequently (p. 22-1) Buddhaguhya has an explanation of *maṇḍala* ornaments. (The text mentions "canopy" because this is the guru of the three realms, "banner" because victorious over the Māras, "adornment" (*vibhūṣaṇa*): marvellous action of compassion, "umbrella": mind of enlightenment, "yukta": whisk: marvellous action, "tassels": compassion, "food": benefit and morality of body, sixteen golden flasks which show the seal (*mudrā*) of the *dharmadhātu*, five flasks that are filled with the water of the five families: the knowledges of the five families, "lamp": insight, strewn food offering (*bali*): compassion, "food and drink": food for the gods, diverse foods having the hundred flavors, offering water having the eight aspects, and so on.

* * *

Here are my comments on the above:

a. Buddhaguhya here defines the word *maṇḍala* in terms of the contained, *maṇḍa*, and the container or holder, *la*. For more information, see *Mkhas grub rje's*, especially pp. 270-71. Giuseppe Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala* is recommended for a general treatment and mainly for the theory of residents of the *maṇḍala* (in contrast to the *maṇḍala* of residence.) Two French scholars have studied the *maṇḍala* as portrayed in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*: first Marcelle Lalou, *Iconographie des étoffes peintes* (1930), and more recently Ariane Macdonald, *Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (1962). For individual *maṇḍalas*, the most remarkable contribution is now *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, Paris 12-15, published by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira[4] and Prof. Dr. Lokesh Chandra (International Academy of Indian Culture, 1967), the individual parts containing an enormous number of *maṇḍala* representations with deity lists.

b. The different parts of the rite are written up more extensively in *Mkhas grub rje's*, pp. 279, ff.

c. When the knowledges are given as four, there is the correspondence

[illegible]

[illegible] Tome III (1970), pp. 129–99

[illegible] right dwelling in samādhi.

[illegible] further explanation.

[illegible]

called [illegible] conception of ideas and feelings [illegible] in Pāli [illegible] known as cognizing and discerning is in Sanskrit [illegible] *yogamandala*

In the use of the word "Indra" here requires explanation. [illegible]

[illegible] Here the word [illegible] Buddhaghosa's [illegible] Indra [illegible] of [illegible] Mt. Meru [illegible] and in the Buddhist Tantras [illegible] the same sacred spot of earth, so this must be the meaning here of the word "Indra"

Blessing and wisdom are one of the four kinds of *pratitvaya* according to Mahāyāna [illegible] p. 28 [illegible] blessing being [illegible] and wisdom being [illegible] and wisdom are [illegible] p. 34-5. [illegible] does not use the [illegible] Sanskrit and [illegible] the expression is [illegible] applicable. The meaning of [illegible] the knowledge [illegible] and [illegible] be imagined [illegible] and [illegible] knowledge [illegible] which accord [illegible] and bread [illegible] knowledge.

[illegible] the wheel of the [illegible] Buddhism one may take Vasubandhu's [illegible] Abhidharmakośa and Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya [illegible] Vol. [illegible] In the manner of a wheel means there is a wheel by reason of a [illegible] and [illegible] the Tanagatas [illegible] Eight Noble Paths [illegible] speech [illegible] are understood as the aggregate of [illegible] understanding [illegible] and right effort are understood as the aggregate of [illegible] right [illegible] the aggregate of [illegible] the [illegible] of all [illegible] of [illegible] at [illegible] hence [illegible] Buddhaghosa's number is seen as a multiple of four and can be taken as

[illegible] Mt. belonging to the [illegible] a name of the earth.

one in the sense of a net. But when Buddhaguhya explains the spokes as the nature of compassion, it does not agree with Vasubandhu's understanding of them as the aggregate of insight. A further divergence is when Buddhaguhya takes the nave to stand for the *dharma* realm, while Vasubandhu puts here the aggregate of morality, and evidently counts the entire wheel as representing the *dharma*. And when Buddhaguhya takes the circle thence the realm of the knowledge garland, the disagreement is complete. That still does not clarify the "horse-*maṇḍala*" same reading in the Narthang Tanjur. But the previous use of the word "indra" suggests that "horse" refers metaphorically to the "horse sacrifice (*aśva-medha*), since in this sacrifice as portrayed at the opening of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, the horse parts sum up the world, and the *maṇḍala* is also the world.

k. The sixteen *saṭvar* are certainly the set of sixteen Bodhisattvas which Buddhaguhya lists in his commentary (p. 24-2) and where he calls them the "Bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa (fortunate eon)". His list is not quite the same as in any of the *maṇḍalas* of the *Niṣpannayogāvali*, but the closest lists are in the *Mañjuśrīmaṇḍala* and *Durgatiparisodhanamaṇḍala*, wherein the Sanskrit names are established. Here is Buddhaguhya's listing, together with directional meaning:

East (who do not swerve from the true nature of mind):
Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Gandhahasti, Jñānaketu
South (who have purity of view and practice):
Bhadrapāla, Amoghadarśī, Ākāśagarbha, Akṣayamati.
West (who have a host of merits):
Pratibhānakūṭa, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Sarvāpāyañjaha, Sarvaśokatamoraghātamati.
North (who have eliminated the two obscurations, of defilement and knowable):
Jālaprabha, Candraprabha, Amṛtaprabha, Samantabhadra.

The most notable omission is that of Avalokiteśvara, but he might be present with the name "Amoghadarśī," whose vision does not fail, especially since the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvali* gives a list of sixteen Bodhisattvas that includes Avalokiteśvara and omits the name Amoghadarśī. Some years ago, when I was reading the list in the *Dharmadhātu-maṇḍala*, the Mongolian lama Dilowa Gegen Hutukhtu told me that those sixteen belong to the Tenth Stage, and so according to *Mahāvyutpatti* are in the retinue of the Sambhogakāya. This then is what Buddhaguhya means in his next paragraph by "supramundane retinue."

l. The three exits from within are: (1) the nave: "Vairocana as Dharma-

kāya (2) the garland of jewels, which is the rim the Buddhas in Sambhogakāya form (3) the sixteen spokes the *sattvas* as Nirmāṇakāya. The word "*āveṇika*" may refer to the special group of eighteen attributes peculiar to a Buddha, called the unshared natures (*āveṇika-dharma*), the most elaborate exposition of the eighteen is now in Lamotte (*op. cit.*, Chap. XL (pp. 1625-1703). The three entrances from without are the special kind of body speech, and mind. The "diamond fence" was previously stated to be the round, unconstructed fence consisting of wisdom-knowledge. Earlier in Tsoń-kha-pa's passage it is called the "fire mountain" and the outer wall of the world. In fact, it is the hallowed circle, blessed into diamond and the demonic elements are all outside they cannot cross the "fire mountain."

The Mt. Meru Maṇḍala

Previously Ratnākaraśānti's exposition of the body-*maṇḍala* mentioned that Meru represents the body. Then Buddhaguhya's description of the *maṇḍala*-rite spoke of a person having the eight good-luck symbols on his body. The meaning of these remarks relates to the temple banner of Mt. Meru, but we must start with the *maṇḍala* of Mt. Meru, here reproduced.[16] Meru is in the center of the four continent system of the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*).

In a small Tibetan text[17] I noticed a description which goes with this *maṇḍala* and therefore also helps explain the temple banner (below). In my translation of the passage I shall restore in part the well-attested Sanskrit names[18] along with numbers that agree with those on the Mt. Meru Maṇḍala.

(The Maṇḍala:) OṂ VAJRABHŪMI ĀḤ HŪṂ ("Om. The diamond spot of earth. Āḥ Hūṃ"). (There appears) the golden spot of earth which belongs to Great Indra (*māhendra*) OṂ VAJRAREKHE ĀḤ HŪṂ ("Om. The diamond sketch. Āḥ Hūṃ"). (There appear) —

16. The Meru maṇḍala with names in Tibetan and Chinese was produced by the Peking Buddhist Institute among the years when the late Professor F. D. Lessing was there, and probably in the late 1930's when he participated in the Hedin expedition. Professor Lessing prepared a Sumeru diagram accordingly (see *Yung-Ho-Kung*, pp. 105-106) and his further remarks are helpful (especially p. 103).

17. The *Byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa ḥbum khrid mjug tsam gyi snoṅ gro'i ṅag don gyi rin po che'i bkaḥ ḥbum mgrin (gyon ba) b.a.ba*, which was published in a book of minor Tibetan works with Western format. My copy, which has no entry of date or place of publication, was purchased at the Tibetan press in Dharmsala, H.P. (India) in Spring 1970.

18. These names are given by Professor Lessing (note 16, above) and probably stem from the *Mahāvyutpatti*, chapter on the four continents, especially Nos. 3047-3059 in the Sakaki edition, which I have utilized.

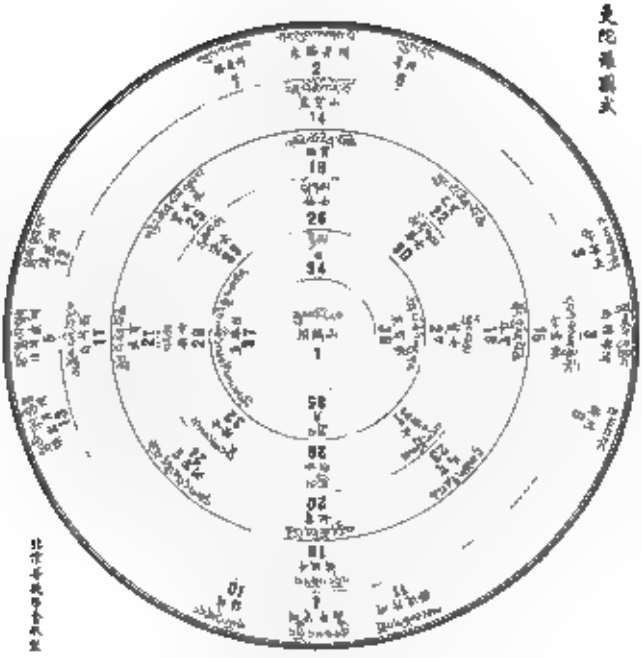


Plate 8. The Mt. Meru Maṇḍala (Tibetan-Chinese).

1. Su-Meru, the King of Mountains, in the center, surrounded on the outside by the Cakravāla of iron mountains
2. Pūrvavideha (Videha of the East),
3. Jambudvīpa in the South,
4. Aparagodāniya (Godāniya of the West),
5. Uttarakuru (Kuru of the North),
6. Deha,
7. Videha,
8. Cāmara
9. Aparacāmara (the Other Cāmara),
10. Śāthā,
11. Uttaramantriṇa
12. Kurava
13. Kaurava,

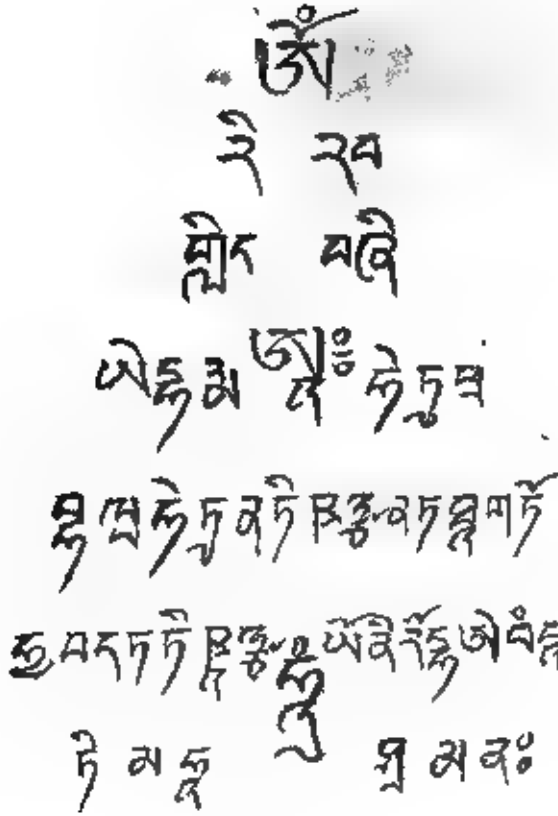
Names of continents and lesser continents

14. the Mountain of Gems,
15. the Wish-granting Tree,
16. the Cow of Plenty,
17. the Harvest Without Ploughing,
18. the jewel of the wheel,
19. the jewel of the gem,
20. the jewel of the woman,
21. the jewel of the minister,
22. the jewel of the elephant,
23. the jewel of the excellent horse,
24. the jewel of the general,
25. the flask of great treasure,
26. the play lady,
27. the garland lady,
28. the song lady,
29. the dance lady,
30. the flower lady,
31. the incense lady,
32. the lamp lady,
33. the perfume lady,
34. Sun,
35. Moon,
36. the Precious Umbrella,
37. the Banner Victorious over the Quarters.

In that list the eight ladies (Nos. 26 through 33) are goddesses frequently depicted in Tibetan banners as holding the individual offering indicated by their names (play, garland, song, dance, flower, incense, lamp, perfume).[19]

19 See Lessing, *Yung-Ho-Kung*, p. 135.

PLATE 9. Mt. Meru Temple Banner



OM
Sumero
Four Continents
ĀḤ
Whatever natures have arisen through causes,
their cause the tathāgata has declared and
whatever is their cessation—speaking thus is
the great ascetic (Mahāśramaṇa)
HŪṂ

PLATE 10. Reverse side of the Temple Banner

PLATE II Mudrā of the four continents and Mt. Meru. Enacted by the candidates during petition for the Kālacakra initiation.

The Mt. Meru Temple Banner

All that data is immediately applicable to the Tibetan temple banner reproduced here and combines with *Mkhas grub rje's* (p. 175). The first two evocation stages are not visible in the temple banner: (first) "he must imagine an earth surface made of many jewels and strewn with gold sand," and second he has the diamond sketch or plan. The next (or third) evocation stage is visible in the banner at the bottom (*Mkhas grub rje's*) "Upon it he imagines an ocean of milk. In the middle of this, he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made of gold, silver, sapphire, and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners." In the case of the body as Meru, Ratnākaraśānti refers to the sides as "front, back, right, and left", which are respectively East, West, South, and North.[20] On the temple banner in the manner of a *retinue*, the three white crescent shapes are the Eastern continent Pūrvavideha (middle), with two minor continents Deha and Videha. The Southern continent is represented by a blue square—the one for Jambudvīpa not visible, presumably because the meditation is taking place in this continent (= India), the two visible squares are the lesser Cāmara and Aparacāmara.

20. See the correspondence table, *Yung-Ho-Kung*, p. 102.

The [illegible] Aparagodānīya along with [illegible] companions Kurava and Kaurava.

[illegible] limbs of enlightenment.

[illegible] represents the Dharmadhātu.

[illegible]

meant to be the circumpolar constellation Ursa Major called the Great Bear, the Plough, Great Dipper, and by other names. It amounts to seven stars, called in Indian mythology the Seven Rishis, who are the mind born sons of Brahma. The one associated with the moon is even more deformed, but its six stars can hardly constitute any constellation other than the Pleiades, because among the group of twenty-seven or twenty-eight asterisms mentioned in the ancient Indian works always had the moon starting out in the Pleiades, called in the Indian language Krittika. The Indian Sanskrit war-god Kārttikeya owes his name and his six heads to the legend that he was fostered by the six wet nurse stars of this constellation.

On the sixth, the part of the temple banner above the Sun and Moon) (*Mkhar gzhon*, p. [illegible]). Above it, he is to imagine a canopy appearing in an instant. On top of that, he generates the complete characteristics of an eaves palace and generates within it various jewels, and he may also generate within the palace *stupas* of the varieties victorious and resplendent. At the upper level, there are the eight good luck symbols or emblems that are on the eight heads mandala. Buddhaguhya's commentary on the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha (PTT, Vol. 78, p. 264-4) says prior to setting forth the eight, defines yoga of yogas by way of a Tibetan translation (*rnal 'byor*) "yoking to tranquillity" (*zhi gnas*) tranquility (*rnal 'byor*) is the nature (*dharmatā*) and "yoking to knowing" (*shes rab*) knowing. Then Buddhaguhya says "Yoga displays such as the eight emblems of yoga" on the nature of body. The eight emblems of good luck are *mangala*: the endless knot (*srivatsa*) which is lotus-like; the wheel (*cakra*) which is frightening; the banner (*dhvaja*) which is victorious; the umbrella (*chattra*) which is dignified; the lotus (*padma*) which is unknown; the flask (*kalasa*) of acute mind; the conch (*śaṅkha*) of purity; the golden fish (*matsya*) of auspicious mind. The Mt. Meru Mandala has two entries, the Precious Emblems (No. 36) and the Banner Victorious over the Quarters (No. 37) which appear to be the same as two of the above eight emblems, namely the umbrella and the banner. Besides, the Mandala enters flask of great treasure (No. 24) may very well be the emblem flask. As to those emblems being on the yogin's body in an each attitude, I translated from a commentary of the Yoga Tantra a certain list of the thirty-two characteristics that are added for the Buddha's hands, although usually the feet are credited with these characteristics: the lion's seat (*siṃhāsana*), fish (*mina*), banner of victory (*dhvaja*), thunderbolt (*vajra*), the book (*pustaka*), the flask (*kalasa*), the Nandyavartta, the Śrīvatsa, the conch shell (*śaṅkha*), the lotus (*padma*), and the Svastika.

Let us now treat the three-storied palace which rests on the cloud atop Mt. Meru.

2 Concordance Regarding the Thirty Two Characteristics of the Great Person, *Sino-Indian Studies* (Chinese Fo-hsueh), Vol. [illegible], Samadhi, [illegible], pp. 243 ff.

Speaking about the carved palace on the summit of Mt. Meru, Lessing[22] states that it is Indra's palace called Sudarsana. This corroborates the association with the name Indra, since the golden spot of earth from which the evocation began is called belonging to Great Indra. The only structure on the top of the palace roof is more difficult; it may very well be a stylized part of a stupa. It will be recalled that *Mahayanabhidharmasamuccaya* mentions two kinds of stupas that can be generated in the palace. Like the standard stupa, this structure, as the photographs seen with a microscope, also has on its very top the crescent moon surmounted by the sun, in turn surmounted by a hook-like curve that should represent fire. While the usual representation of a stupa does not show lotuses in the superstructure, in fact two lotuses are mentioned in that position in the stupa description recently published in a Tibetan educational manual. These lotuses, although only are visible in the tiny roof structure atop the three-storied palace, which considered as a reliquary house might contain the three kinds of relics.[23] The two lotuses shown in the roof structure should be lowest: the lotus which is the throne for the flask (*bum gzhon padmas*) and the other one higher: the lotus which supports the parasol (*gdugs dkar padma*).

Finally, the top of the temple banner is decorated from Buddhaguhya's *mandala* exposition previously translated. The pendant necklace is a hanging necklace of pearls, standing for the Bodhisattva's joy. The silk scarves, five-colored, have the meaning of five kinds of knowledge.

22. *Yung-Ho-Kung*, p. 104.

23. The [illegible] Tibetan Cultural Printing Press, [illegible] Kangyur, [illegible]

24. [illegible] Buddha's arc of the [illegible] being known for the celebrated account of the conversion of the disciples Sariputra and Maudgalyayana.

10

TANTRIC RITUAL AND SYMBOLISM OF ITS ATTAINMENTS

Ritual in the Buddhist Tantras somehow always revolves about the "three mysteries of the Buddha"—his Body, Speech, and Mind, and how the tantric performer correlates his own body, speech, and mind with those "mysteries" or secrets. That will be my first concern. Then I shall turn to various topics of the Anuttarayoga Tantra, a note on mundane occult attainments (*siddhi*), the "five ambrosias" of the Stage of Generation, finally the three ritual observances (*vrata*) and other matters of the Stage of Completion. The "three mysteries of the Buddha" are the life of all these discussions.

Orientation toward the "Three Mysteries"

It was already pointed out that the officiant correlates his body to the Body Mystery by means of gesture (*mudrā*), his speech to the Speech Mystery by means of incantation (*mantra*), and his mind to the Mind Mystery by means of intense concentration (*samādhi*). I now go into these in reverse order, because *samādhi* is the part which is shared with non-tantric Buddhism and in fact is a feature of Buddhism from its outset.

According to *Mkhas grub rje's* (pp. 98-20[illegible]), which should be consulted on these points, calming (the mind) (*samatha*) and discerning (the truth) (*vipaśyanā*) are the backbone of both the "Pāramitā-yāna" and the "Mantra-yāna." Mkhas grub rje points out that the specific techniques of developing these two essential ingredients of *samādhi*—as one can read about them extensively in ordinary Buddhist texts—are not mentioned in

the Tantras for the simple reason that the contemplation, according to the rules of the yoga of the deity, brings the complete characteristics of carrying. Likewise for discerning reality, one must have the voidness contemplation, which is an essential element in the Buddhist Tantras even though they do not treat voidness in the manner of a Madhyamika treatise, with its refutations of the opponent and the like. This voidness contemplation in tantric practice is cultivated in the meditation on sound (see those same pages of *Mahāsiddhi*) where the sound contemplation is carried out to the extreme limit of silence, whereupon one reaches the voidness. This is called freedom at the limit of the sound, a freedom abiding in the Dharmatā. This is explained for the inner Tantras in Śrī Dīpaṃkarabhadra's *Lhag ma'i ro dhūna-sāma* (PTT, Vol. 79, p. 25 to p. 252), where the sound of the *dhūna* garland (*mālā*) is associated with what he calls the stage of generation and the sound of the void with the stage of completion. This author, Dīpaṃkarabhadra, has written a work well-known in the *Guhyasamāja* tradition, the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikā*. He states: "There are two kinds of sound which cut off all karma of living beings: the sound of the void and the sound of the garland." He then says that there are six kinds of sound of the void. These are his six, with brief explanation of his further explanation:

(1) That based on body and speech. This relies on the magical practice born of the body through the profound unborn true nature (*abhāvamātra*), which is void.

(2) That based on sense objects (*viṣaya*). This arises in the five gates of the profound true nature, while the yogin is devoid of intellectual activity (*buddhi*).

(3) That based on mind (*citta*). This is based on memory.

(4) That based on the natural disposition of a knowable entity. Here the yogin is entirely devoid of views, and true nature appears as an illusion (*māyā*).

(5) That based on time. There are three cases: (a) the time of cognition, when cognition is cut off while sound dissolves within it; (b) the time of comprehension, when there is realization of non-self and non-[illegible]; (c) the time of the year's recitation, when there is the harvest of true nature.

(6) That based on personal transformation. This is voidness of basis-there, in the case based on a spot of body, there is gradual decrease (of phenomenal manifestation), and in the case based on mind, there is transcending of *saṃsāra*.

Besides, the Tantras usually have different meditative objects from the non-tantric Buddhist ones. Tsongkhapa's *Lam rim chen mo* (*Sangha* section) cites the author Bodhibhadra's *Samādhi-nirbhāsa-parivartanāma*, or a classification of meditative objects that emphasizes tantric examples. Following is a tabulation of this author's material:

TABLE 3

MEDITATIVE OBJECTS FOR CALMING (THE MIND)

I. By looking inward		*II. By dwelling on what is seen outside*	
A. DWELLING ON THE BODY	B. DWELLING ON WHAT IS BASED ON THE BODY	A. OUTSTANDING	B. ORDINARY
As the aspect of a god	1. On the breath	1. Dwelling on the body	(not listed)
2. As the unpleasant thing of skeleton, etc.	2. On the subtle signs (*sil pug-sum-'ol*)	2. Dwelling on speech	
	3. On the drop (*bindu*)		
3. With outstanding signs like *khatvanga*	4. On the member navel		
	5. On rapture (*prīti*) and pleasure (*sukha*)		

Passing to the second topic, it is of course the officiant's use of *mantra*, or a string of these in the form of *dhāraṇī*, to correlate his speech to the Speech Mystery. *Mkhas grub rje*'s section on "The four members of muttering" (pp. 186, ff.) is already has so much authoritative material on this subject that I can do little more than refer the reader to his treatment. However, the little that I can add is to continue Dipaṃkarabhadra's exposition. He states that there are five kinds of sound-garland, which I here give with abbreviated notice of his individual explanations.

(1) Meditation of dwelling in the sound held in accordance with the stage of generation. Here the aim is, after much recitation, to have the sound-garland eventually sound itself whereupon the sound is issuing in voidness, and is a reflected image of the Buddha's realm.

(2) Meditation on dwelling in the sound of the garland of letters. The officiant imagines a garland of vowel letters at the root of his nostrils between the eyes; eventually it should become "bright" and be associated with ecstasy.

(3) Meditation of dwelling in the garland sound of the body-speech-circle causing a state of consciousness. The word "body" means the bodies of deities who are the "circle" and "speech" is their speech. Whirling this garland, one becomes liberated from the garland of egoistic views, and consciousness dwells in the realm of profound true nature.

(4) Meditation of dwelling in the garland-sound of intrinsically pure natures (*dharma*). This is a method of liberation from false appearances, cutting off of discursive thought, transcending the conventions of singleness and multiplicity so that one arrives at the realm of the Buddha.

(5) Meditation of dwelling in the sound which produces the path which

[illegible] the true nature of the stage of completion. This is for the disciple of [illegible] stage of generation and the stage of [illegible] stage of completion. He has [illegible] [illegible] Buddha

[illegible] Buddha

are themselves the true-nature experiences aimed at, hence are not transcended. Likewise the final topic of four *mudrās* falls in this category. In any case, the correlation of *mudrā* is with the Body Mystery.

Four Kinds of Yoga

Tsoń-kha-pa frequently cites Abhayākaragupta's great commentary called the *Āmnāya-mañjarī* (*Man ngag*) and in the *Sngags rim chen mo* (402a-b) he refers to this work for describing three kinds of *yoga*, namely the yoga of eating, yoga of washing, yoga of lying down, and then adds a fourth one called yoga of getting up. I now translate all four descriptions:

> *Yoga of eating*. At the time of taking food, including drink and the like, one should be mindful of oneself as the deity and having empowered the food to be like ambrosia (*amṛta*), should enjoy it by thinking that it is a divine offering.
> *Yoga of washing*. It is to be done as in the phase of initiation.
> *Yoga of lying down*. Having convinced oneself that the nature of voidness which consists of the true form of co-natal bliss is the nature of the Clear Light, he should lie down with what consists of Insight and the Means.
> *Yoga of getting up*. He should get up upon being exhorted by the sound of the *damaru* drum, or by the song of the goddess.

The "Yoga of eating" is of course involved with the section on "five ambrosias" as also with the "inner offering" in the classification of offerings in the previous chapter on Offering Materials. The "Yoga of washing" is evidently the sprinkling rite of initiation. The "Yoga of lying down" shows that the union of Insight (*prajñā*) and Means (*upāya*) takes place within the yogin. The "Yoga of getting up" agrees with our later discussion to the effect that the yogin, or the "Means" within him, is roused, made to rise by the sound of Insight.

External materials and mundane siddhis

The Stage of Generation in the Anuttarayoga Tantra has in this Tantra class the most in common with the lower Tantras, especially the Yoga Tantra. One thing in common is the feature of what are called "mundane *siddhis*" (although the Stage of Generation is frequently credited with the "eight great siddhis" still mundane). The second stage in the Anuttarayoga Tantra, called Stage of Completion, is credited with the possibility of supramundane *siddhi*, or Buddhahood. Therefore at this point we may call attention to *Mkhas grub rje's* (p. 211) "In this Tantra it is set forth

the burning of a dry tree.

The Five Ambrosias

One of the [illegible] descriptions of the five Buddhas is with the five kinds of ambrosia [illegible] where they are explained as

blood, semen, human flesh, urine, and excrement. This context is the conclusion of yoga in the Stage of Generation (*utpatti-krama*) in the Anuttara-yoga-tantra, preliminary to the Stage of Completion (*sampanna-krama*). Tsoń-kha-pa (A.D. 1357–1419), founder of the Ge-lugs-pa sect in Tibet, sets forth this topic in his reform of the Tantras, called *Sngags rim chen mo*, with the views of numerous authorities. Now I wish to signal some of the essential ideas.

Because the preceding main part of the yoga has wearied body and mind, there is this rite of enjoying the ambrosia, envigorating the body. The *yogin* imagines at the top of his head a lunar disk marked with an *Oṁ*. From this *Oṁ* ambrosia trickles down moistening the finest particles all the way to his feet. But that is the end result of an evocation process, which is variously described, and presumably connected with the celebrated Hindu account of the churning of the ocean to extract the *amṛta*, over which the gods (*deva*) and demigods (*asura*) fought.

In these texts cited by Tsoń-kha-pa, one starts with three vessels of authorized kind (skull bowl, and so on), one in front containing liquid offering materials (Skt. = *bali*), such as milk, and two more on the right and left sides containing solid offering materials, such as meat and fish. However, Tsoń-kha-pa says that if these materials are not available, one can use just water. Presumably the *yogin* is sitting with crossed legs. He "generates" the offering materials in three steps or evocations, stacking up a wind, on that a fire, and on the latter a skull bowl, the latter itself resting on a trivet of skull bowls. In that skull bowl, level with his own head (or is it his own head?), he generates from ten germ syllables, starting with *Hūṁ*, the five ambrosias and the five kinds of flesh. Here there is the flesh of cow in the east, of dog in the south, of elephant in the west, of horse in the north, and of man in the middle. In the intermediate directions and center there are the five ambrosias, and Tsoń-kha-pa quotes from the *Mahāmudrātilaka*:

> Ratnasambhava is blood. Amitābha is semen.
> Amoghasiddhi is human flesh, Akṣobhya is urine.
> Vairocana is excrement. These are the five best ambrosias.[2]

The *yogin* stacks the three germ syllables, *Oṁ, Āḥ, Hūṁ*, in that order, apparently at the level of the crown of the head, level of the eyebrows, and level of the tip of the tongue (uvula). These syllables irradiate, and attract the ambrosia of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten directions, as well as the ambrosia in the oceans.

The upward evocation can be interpreted in terms of "centers" of the

The section herein treated occupies almost four folios of the *Sngags rim chen mo*, beginning 394b-4.

2. *Sngags rim chen mo*, 395b-5.

body by reference to the Table of the preceding section. There the wind disc is in the navel and the fire disk in the heart. The third evolution, that of the sun, from wind, which is correspondingly in one's own head. This upward genesis of the [illegible] reminds one of Śiva's Three Steps. In fact, in the Hindu legend of the churning of the ocean of milk, Viṣṇu himself is wielding the mountain Mandara, which [illegible] the churning stick. [illegible] is described in Pierre M. S. Bandhauer's *Bandhu Painting: Contentment of India*, 1991. Among the objects which arose from the churning process were the cow Surabhi, the seven-headed steed, and the white elephant Airāvata. These three may account for three kinds of flesh generated in the stomach. Flesh of man in the middle may be [illegible] in a position. Above flesh of dog is not mentioned in the Hindu legend. Hence the remarkable yogic evolution described in the Buddhist Tantras seems not merely related to certain legends about Viṣṇu.

[illegible] has not described the five ambrosias, which in this [illegible] are [illegible] the offering mantra as [illegible] well as those of the Tantrikas as in the Bodhisattva version of the Steps of the Path to Enlightenment. The [illegible] speaks of the impurities of human [illegible] for example, the Bodhisattva [illegible] food and drink polluted with excrement and urine, [illegible] and human and animal flesh. [illegible] that Tsongkhapa has here to mention this in the light of the Tantric doctrine of the five ambrosias.

The Three Ritual Observances (vrata)

The word *vrata* for a ritual observance is of ancient usage in India. The standard Tibetan equivalent is *brtul zhugs*, and the present materials happen to be mainly based on the Tibetan passages using this term. As the [illegible] elements are discussed in the Mañjuśrī Tantra of the Anuttarayoga Tantras, they usually come in the order of first the ornaments of the deities and next the visualization of the ecstatic song and dance by the magic wand, [illegible] the drum, damaru, and the [illegible] *vajra*.

During Tsongkhapa's explanation of the three higher initiations, the Secret one, the Insight-wisdom one, and the Fourth one, the Śiṣya comes into the bringing [illegible] with to [illegible] the terminology of the three kinds of *vrata* (ritual observance).

For the first one, called "*vidyā-vrata*" (ritual observance of the *vidyā*), he says:

> Because the *prajñā* herself is the concrete means for perfection of

1. This quotation is part of a longer statement about the appropriate of giving [illegible] Tsongkhapa mentions Anangavajra (Bodhisattva-[illegible]) as the source of the particular material.

the illustrious non-oozing bliss, the "ritual observance of the goddess consort (*yab*)" is the understanding by the beginners and so on. "I must not omit the condensed reflection (*bsdus rtogs pa*) in any period."

The phrase "in any period" can be understood by materials in my forthcoming *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* that the *rāhu-rāta* is the contact with the goddesses at the junctures, i.e. morning, noon, sunset and midnight. The condensed reflection is presumably the co-natal knowledge (*lhan-skyes-shes*) which Tson-kha-pa in that context says is explained in the phase of the third Initiation, i.e. the *prajñā-shes* (Insight Knowledge). This agrees with *Mahā-grub-rten* (pp. 3-8-9 notes), that this initiation takes place in the wombs (*bhaga*) i.e. in the four *caktras* of the body belonging to the goddesses Locanā, etc.

Then he explains the one called *rāhu-rāta* (ritual observance of the diamond). This diamond turns out to be the inner diamond which is the one mind of enlightenment as the intrinsic nature of the five knowledges. One has ritual observance of this diamond when he practices all the *tsas* while free from discursive thought.

The third one is called *dayā-rāta* (ritual observance of the engagement). There are three forms. (1) The first engagement is to apply oneself to accomplishing the three inner seats (*nang-gnas*) which are (a) one's own body as a divine body, (b) the indestructible sound of the heart, (c) the sam-ye mind of enlightenment which is the basis for enjoying the great bliss (the three symbolized by the *khatvāṅga*, etc.). One can also understand the three as external seats by taking the first one as the Father (*yab*), the second as the Prajñā, and the third as the *mantra* being recited. (2) The second engagement is the ritual observance of engagement together with the virgin who wears the five ornaments by having this observance one applies himself to generating the five kinds of knowledge which are the pure Dharmadhātu knowledge and so forth. (3) The third engagement is the application to arousing the mind of enlightenment which has the indivisibility of void and compassion, that is to say, if one has achieved the capacity of the four divine stances, the supernormal faculties, etc., applying them to accomplish the aim of sentient beings and Tathāgatas and yogins go outside the world through worldly occupations—applying the power of all one's own inner ornaments for their aim.

Ornaments of the Deities

There are six ornaments called *mudrās* (seals) worn by the deities and said to represent the six perfections (*pāramitā*) of the Bodhisattva according to the final verse in *Durjayacandra's Saptāksaraśādhana* (No. 250 in the *Sādhanamālā*).

The Green Tārā, showing the ear ornaments.

Besides, five of the six are made to represent the five Buddhas according to *Hevajratantra* (I, vi, 11) and, consistently, according to the Explanatory Tantra, the *Sampuṭa* (PTT Vol. 2, p. 260-3). Nāro-pāda's explanation of the ornaments in his *Vajrapada-sūra-saṃgraha-pañjikā* (PTT Vol. 54, p. 36-1 2,3.4) accordingly concerns itself with the set of five. Hence a sixth ornament (the sacred thread) is left over and besides there are some variants in stating certain ornaments, for example, as found in Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Sbas don* commentary on the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara* (PTT Vol. 157, p. 90-2). I only found the actual itemization of the ornaments with correspondences to both the perfections and the Buddhas, in Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma's collected works, Vol. Ga (p. 74-5 in Dalama's edition, Vol. 1), for which a sixth Buddha (Mahāvajradhara) has to be allotted. Nevertheless, the fact that the various contexts in which I find the list of these ornaments do not correlate them explicitly and respectively with the six perfections and, furthermore, that the indications already given connect them with the five kinds of knowledge, shows that it is more practical to set up the intended correspondences with this in mind (n.b., in the order of the *Hevajratantra* list)

TABLE 9

THE FIVE ORNAMENTS

ORNAMENT MANIFESTED	BY WHICH BUDDHA	FOR WHICH KNOWLEDGE
1. Head ornament (mukuṭa) = maṇi of head, or cakra of head	Akṣobhya	Mirror-like
2. Ear-ring (kuṇḍalam)	Amitābha	Discriminative
3. Necklace (kaṇṭhikā)	Ratnasambhava	Equality
4. Bracelet (arms and legs) (rucakam)	Vairocana	Dharmadhātu
5. Belt (mekhalā or kāyabandhanam) or sacred ash (mahābhasmam)	Amoghasiddhi	Procedure-of-duty

According to *Shags rim*, 302a-1, ff., when one has already entered into the *vidyā-vrata*, which is the regular contact with the divinity at the *sandhis* (dawn, etc.), he then is to enter into the *caryā-vrata*. Tsoṅ-kha-pa makes a distinction as to whether it is a woman or a man that enters the *caryā-vrata*. A woman generates herself into the form of Vajravārāhī (the Diamond Sow), Nairātmyā (She who is Selfless), or the goddess of the family indicated by the thrown flower (in the flower initiation of *Mkhas grub rje's*, p. 315). A man generates himself into Hevajra, etc. In either case the person must then attract, by means of the rays from the seed in his heart, the knowledge being and then make it enter, whereupon he

should convince himself that from the transformation of Akṣobhya, etc. the respective ornaments appear on his person. That is why the ornaments are called "*mudrās*" (seals). For each ornament a respective mantra is set forth to be cited thrice. Tsoń-kha-pa states that those mantras are taken from the *Vajrapañjarā*, Chap. Nine. In short, the yogin and the yoginī try to gain the five ornaments, "avoiding the sacred thread" (precept of the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, Chap. 27), at least in this phase.

Now to Nāro-pāda's explanations of the five ornaments. He goes through the explanations twice, first for the "hinted meaning" (*neyārtha*) and next for the "evident meaning" (*nītārtha*).

neyārtha: One wears the *cakra* so as to bow to the guru, ācārya, kāmadeva.
One wears the ear-rings on the ears so as to not hear any harsh words directed toward the guru, holder of the *vajra*.
The necklace for reciting with mantra, the bracelets for avoiding any killing of living beings, the belt for recourse to *mudrā*.

nītārtha: One wears the *cakra* so as to honor and have a transit of the "drop" (*bindu*) of the *bodhicitta* (mind of enlightenment) which is called "guru, ācārya, kāmadeva". One wears the ear-rings on the ears so as to destroy the harsh words and to preserve the words of agreement. One ties on the necklace for the purpose of cessation through reciting the mantra, since it "protects the mind" (man-tra). The bracelets to avoid any killing of living beings, where "living being" means the mind, and one should not kill it. The belt so as to take recourse to a *mudrā*, i.e. the *karma-mudrā*.

Those explanations of the ornaments turn out rather close to the correspondences of "perfections" as given by Kloń-rdol bla-ma, because the assignment of *prajñā-pāramitā* is consistent with the explanation of *mudrā*, especially *karma-mudrā* (the visible consort, since the word *prajñā* is often used for the consort in this tantric material). In the standard order of the perfections, these run: 1. Giving: necklace, 2. Morality: bracelets, 3. Forbearance: Ear-ring, 4. Striving: head ornament, 5. Meditation: Sacred thread, 6. Insight (*prajñā*): belt (or sacred ash)—which happens to be the order of the six ornaments in the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, Chap. 27. Notice that this introduces the extra ornament, the "sacred thread" (*brahmasūtra*, or *yajñopavītam*), which is identified with the

Buddha Mahāvajradhara who, in the Gelugpa sect founded by Tsoń-kha-pa, is the Ādibuddha.

The lord and the Buddhist tantric deities represented iconographically have all six ornaments. Reference to B. Bhattacharyya's *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* shows that the sacred thread can be formed of a number of materials. Sometimes it consists of a snake, sometimes of bone ornaments, and frequently the material is not specified. It is of course always indicated when the iconographical description specifies six mudrās (*saṁmudrā*), because this means the five as have been discussed above plus a further one which is the "sacred thread." It is noteworthy that this one is associated with the perfection "meditation"—this is perhaps a recognition that all the principal deities of the Buddhist tantric pantheon are contacted through meditation. But this does not justify the misnomer "Dhyāni Buddhas" (the texts speak only of Buddhas, Tathāgatas, or Jinas).

The khaṭvāṅga, ḍamaru, and kapāla

Pictures of the legendary Padmasambhava (8th century magician in Tibet) have frequently appeared in the Western books on Tibet, and many persons have noticed the peculiar wand held with his left arm—that is called the *khaṭvāṅga*. Former travellers in Tibet have spoken about the mysterious rite called Chöd, and the drum called *ḍamaru* (large sized variety) used in that mysterious cult. (Note that the spelling *ḍamaru* is standard, but when transcribed into Tibetan the word is generally written *ḍamarū*.) Tibetan iconography frequently depicts the skull-bowl (*kapāla*), full of blood, held by some fierce figure. Those three are the attributes or hand symbols of the *ḍākinī* (typified by Buddhaḍākinī (sangs rgyas mkha' 'gro)) as depicted in the *Rin byun* collection (Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, Part 9, *Rin byun* 14.). On the facing page the three attributes are made more salient.

All three are also taken together in a passage which Tsoń-kha-pa cites in the *Sngags rim chen mo* (3.a-4), running as follows: "It is said in the *Kun ḥjug* (evidently the *Yoginītantra*). The *khaṭvāṅga* is the body of a god, the *ḍamaru* is insight (*prajñā*), and Mantra is the drinking skull (*kapāla*)." In the foregoing treatment of the three ritual observances, this place in the *Sngags rim chen mo* was alluded to as exposition of the *caryāmaṇḍala*. In summary:

Symbol	*Inner Seal*	*Outer Seal*
khaṭvāṅga	one's own body as a divine body	Father (yab)
ḍamaru	indestructible sound of the "beat"	Prajñā (the insight consort)
kapāla	basis for enjoying bliss	Mantra being recited

Buddhaḍākinī, showing the *khaṭvāṅga*, *ḍamaru*, and *kapāla*.

Because the Father (yab) and Prajñā as the Mother (yum) can be combined as Father-Mother (yab-yum), the *khaṭvāṅga* and the *ḍamaru* are frequently mentioned together, for example, *Sbas don* (p. 57.2) "[illegible] along with the *khaṭvāṅga* with skulls marked with a *vajra*, and the beating of the *ḍamaru* with the sound of HŪṂ [illegible]." The particular correspondence system which Tsoṅ-kha-pa uses in the above part of the *Sngags rim chen mo* is consistent with his citation in the same work (426a.5) of a passage from the celebrated master of the Mother Tantra named Lui-pa, including: "The *khaṭvāṅga* is the divine body. Prajñā is the sound of the *ḍamaru*. The lord who has the *vajra* is day, the yoginī is night." A passage in the *Hevajratantra* seems to contradict the above, if we are to accept Snellgrove's translation (Part I. I. vi, 11). Wisdom (is symbolized) by the *khaṭvāṅga* and means by the drum. But note his own edited Sanskrit (confirmed by the Tibetan):

> prajñā khaṭvāṅgarūpiṇī
> ḍamarūpāyarūpeṇa

It seems possible to translate this in a manner consistent with Lui-pa:

> Prajñā is embodied for (or has the body belonging to) the *khaṭvāṅga* i.e. is the *ḍamaru*, by embodiment for the means.

My interpretation appears supported by the somewhat obscure line of the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (Chap. 35): "For cheating untimely death, a body is applied to the *khaṭvāṅga*."

Tsoṅ-kha-pa was undoubtedly aware of the seeming discrepancy between the tradition he is following and the *Hevajratantra* (in common with the *Saṃpuṭa*), and in his *Sbas don* commentary on the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, p. 90-2, he treats the topic along with analysis of the expression "*khaṭvāṅga*." Notice that *khaṭvā* means a "cot" or "couch," so *khaṭvāṅga* (with *aṅga* in the meaning of "body") "the body on the cot." Tsoṅ-kha-pa writes:

> The reality of the "*prajñā* body" (śes rab yan lag) is explained as the *khaṭvāṅga* or the embrace by the body of the *prajñā* lady. Nag-po-pa states in his *Maṇḍala-vidhi*: "The *prajñā* body is on the cot;" this means that the *prajñā* lady is to be taken as the cot.

That is to say, if "*prajñā* body" is the *khaṭvā* body, then *prajñā* is the *khaṭvā* or cot. Hence, that *Hevajratantra* line (I. vi. 11), "Prajñā has the body belonging to the *khaṭvāṅga*," or "Prajñā has the form of the *khaṭvāṅga*," again possibly to be construed as meaning that Prajñā is the

[illegible]

from diverse sources, and also because, if it is proper for Westerners to tell many wrong things about the Buddhist Tantras, it is surely proper for someone to tell some right things that have come to his notice.

But we are far from exhausting the subject. What does the *Hevajratantra* mean by the "engagement of the diamond-skull"? We have already noticed that "diamond" in this context is the mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*). Hence, "diamond-skull" means skull containing the conventional mind of enlightenment. But the skull is explained as the mantra being recited. So drinking from the skull is the yogin's recitation of the mantra, and he is no longer reciting it—the recitation is done by *prajñā*—the cot conveying him through those three severed heads on the *khaṭvāṅga* pole.

As to the skull bowl, the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (Chap. 31) says: "Who would revile the skull of the embodiment of the Dharmakāya, arisen from the three sources—conch-shell (*saṅkha*), mother-of-pearl (*śukti*), or pearl (*muktā*)." Tsoṅ-kha-pa's commentary *Sbas don*, p. 63-2,3,4' holds that the skull here refers to the skull of man. The reason the body of man is the best is that—is the distinguished basis for accomplishing the Dharmakāya liberation and the knowledge of great bliss (*mahāsukhajñāna*). Those three, conch-shell, etc., are used to construct the skull in five sections (representing the five goddesses), as attached to the head-dress.

Shedding further light on the *ḍamaru*, Indrabhūti, in his commentary on the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, the "*Saṃbarasamuccaya-nāma-vṛtti*" (Toh. 1413, Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Tsa, f. 75b-2) writes:

> The words, "Now through himself emerging," mean that the yogin emerges from the realm of the heart, through exhortation of the sound of the *ḍamaru* drum, in the manner of deep sleep as the Dharmakāya of the Clear Light, dream like the Saṃbhogakāya, and waking state as the Nirmāṇakāya.

Therefore, when, as in Lui-pa's precepts, we take *prajñā* as the sound of the *ḍamaru*, it turns out, that she, contemplating the yogin—the divine body on the couch—exhorts him to rise.

The Four Mudrā-s

There is a great deal of information about this topic in *Mkhas grub rje's*, and the extensive definitions by Padmavajra cited in the notes to that work, pp. 228-29, show the situation prevalent in the three lower Tantras. Here I wish to present some further material from the Anuttarayoga Tantra that happens to be consistent with the present chapter. The *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra* concerns itself with this topic in Chap. 36, and Tsoṅ-kha-pa's

Shes don commentary (p. 71-1) presents the explanation of the four *mudrā-s* in accordance with Abhayākaragupta's *Āmnāyamañjarī*. Here the four *mudrā-s* are twice explained, that is, for the phase of the path in the Stage of Generation and in the Stage of Completion, and finally their fruit is established in terms of the four Buddha bodies.

TABLE 10

THE FOUR MUDRĀ-S

MUDRĀ	STAGE OF GENERATION	STAGE OF COMPLETION	FRUIT
Karmamudrā	Contemplation of an external prajñā only in the form of Kāmadevī (goddess of love).	The external prajñā, because she confers pleasure through the acts of embracing, etc.	Nirmāṇakāya
Dharmamudrā	The HŪṂ and other syllables contemplated in the body	The inner prajñā, the *avadhūtī* (central channel)	Dharmakāya
Samayamudrā	Emanating and recollecting the *maṇḍala* circle (of deities) accomplished from the seed syllables, etc.	The materialization of diverse forms of the gods	Mahāsukhakāya
Mahāmudrā	Contemplating oneself as the body of the principal deity.	The *bodhicitta* with great bliss, which is the fruit of those *mudrā-s*.	Sambhogakāya

In that explanation the Mahāsukhakāya is expanded as the *bodhicitta* of bliss-void.

11

TWILIGHT LANGUAGE AND A TANTRIC SONG

In my paper published in the Louis Renou memorial volume* I began, "Certainly the Vajrayāna is not now as obscure as when Prabodh Chandra Bagchi wrote his still valuable *Studies in the Tantras* (University of Calcutta, 1939). Nevertheless, both the form, the meaning, and illustrations of the expression *saṃdhā-bhāṣa* deserve a fresh approach based on primary sources." In the first section of the paper I concluded "that the correct forms are *saṃdhā-bhāṣā*, *saṃdhi-bhāṣā*, or *saṃdhyā bhāṣā*, and that they all intend 'bhāṣā in the manner of *saṃdhi* (= *saṃdhā*)'." To continue

The Meaning of the Expression

Bagchi, in the same place (p. 27), writes, "Prof. Vidhuśekhar Śāstrī in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1928, pp. 287 ff.) has tried to determine the exact meaning of the expression *Sandhābhāṣā*. He has collected a large number of facts which justifies us in rejecting the old interpretation suggested by Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Śāstrī as 'the twilight language (*ālokāndhārī bhāṣā*). The large number of texts quoted by Prof. Vidhuśekhar Śāstrī has enabled him to interpret it as *ābhiprāyika vacana* or *neyārtha vacana*, i.e. 'intentional speech.' (V. S. Śāstrī) 'intended to imply or suggest something different from what is expressed by the

* "Concerning *saṃdhā-bhāṣā*, *saṃdhi-bhāṣā*, *saṃdhyā bhāṣā*," *Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou* (Éditions E. de Boccard, Paris, 1968), 789-796. This original article may be consulted for the full first section indicated in my summary as well as for the Tibetan and Sanskrit passages omitted here.

[illegible]

with esoteric meaning

[illegible]

A significant remark occurs p. 165- [illegible]

and I took the pun remarks that [illegible]

right in translating the term as "twilight language" – The expression *sandhyā bhāṣā* is rendered literally "language in the manner of twilight"

The term *sandhā-bhāṣā* ("twilight language") aptly refers to the ambiguity, contradiction, or paradox of the moment between darkness and light. In ancient India, these were climactic times, as represented in my article "Climactic Times in Indian Mythology and Religion," *History of Religions* 4.2 (Winter 1965). It is only in recent times that Hindus have ceased to respond to the dawn and dusk (morning and evening twilights). The ancient Hindu well appreciated the paradoxical nature of Uṣhas, goddess of Dawn, whose ever youthful appearance heralded another day of life, bringing men that much closer to death. When evening descended a host of spirits emerged — was the time that the Māra host appeared to the meditating Gautama under the *bodhi*-tree. The twilights symbolized the sensitive points in the temporal flow when spiritual victory was possible. A special vocabulary was created to refer to these critical points and called in the Buddhist Tantras "twilight language." This should have been obvious from the outset of Western research in the Tantras. But the scholars' understanding was blinded by their preference to regard the Tantras as a repulsive literature, depicting degraded cults. Hence they concluded that the *sandhā bhāṣā* was a kind of literary "cover up" for dissolute practices. Of course, if the terms are understood in the latter sense, they are indeed understandable and positively not ambiguous, so the obvious rendition "twilight language" had to be rejected by early Western investigators of the Tantras.

There was surely a time in India when every learned Buddhist monk could understand the terminology *sandhāya bhāṣayā* found in verses Śāriputra is made to say in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Chap. III (Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader*, p. 55):

> Days and nights I spent, O Lord
> mostly thinking just that: "now I shall
> ask the Lord whether I have failed or not."
>
> And as I so reflected, O Jinendra,
> the days and nights continually passed on.
> And noting many other *bodhisattvas* being praised
> by the Preceptor of the world,
>
> And having heard this *buddhadharma*, I thought:
> "Indeed, this is expressed in the manner of twilight." At
> the tree of enlightenment the Jina reveals the knowledge that is inaccessible to logic, subtle, and immaculate."

Illustrations of Saṃdhyā bhāṣā

The *Saṃdhibhāṣā-ṭīkā* is written by Nāgārjuna, presumably the same tantric who authored the *Pañcakrama* of the Guhyasamāja system. In the Japanese Photo. edition, it is in Vol. 56, pp. 67-69. He lists his explanations of the "twilight" expressions in seven groups or rounds. It should be of interest to compare his explanations with those in the *Hevajratantra*, accepting the work of Snellgrove in most cases.

Hevajratantra	*Saṃdhibhāṣā-ṭīkā* (1st round)
madhya (wine) is *madana* (intoxication)	is the ambrosia (*amṛta*) of heaven, to be drunk continuously.
māṃsa (flesh) is *bala* (strength)	is wind, is food, to be controlled.
malayaja (sandlewood) is *milana* (meeting)	the coming together of external states, sense organs, and perceptions (based thereon)—which is so to be contemplated, also the consubstantial joy (*sahajānanda*).
kheṭa (phlegm) is *gati* (going)	the passage of the wind. also, when one has the four *yogas*, he contemplates without holding it, i.e. lets it go
śava (corpse) is *śrāya* (resort)	is the *yantra* of body, having infinite light (*amitābha*), and one should resort to that group.
asthyābharaṇa (bone ornament) is *niraṃśuka* (naked)	One should be convinced, "these very bones of mine are my ornaments."
preṅkhana (wandering) is *āgati* (coming)	is inhalation and one should stop it from its violent acts.
kṛṣṭa (wood) is *ḍamaruka* (drum)	the undefeated sound also, by controlling the *prāṇa* and *āyāma*, one beats it (the drum) and makes it even.
dundura (emission) is *abhavya* (non-potential)	is *vikalpa* (mental emission) and should not be elsewhere.
Kāliñjara (N. of a mountain) is *bhavya* (potential)	has *avikalpa* nature, also, while the wind is being inhaled there is no recitation

padmabhājana (lotus vessel) is *kapāla* (skull)	is the four wheels (*cakra* [of the body [one of which, is either the wheel at the head or the wheel at the navel], or it is the *kakkola* of the *karmamudrā*. the four wheels are the *padmabhājana*
tṛptikara (satisfying) is *bhakṣya* (food)	is the meditation to be eaten by the yogins
mālatīdhana (jasmine wood) is *vyañjana* (herbs)	that scrutiny scraping the element is to be eaten.
catuḥsama (a potion of four ingredients) is *gūtha* (dung)	is Vairocana, hence is present through anointment of the body.
kasturikā (musk) is *mūtra* (urine)	is Akṣobhya, ditto.
sihlaka (frankincense) is *svayambhu* (blood)	is Ratnasambhava, ditto.
karpūra (camphor) is *śukra* (semen)	is Amitābha, hence is present through anointment
sālija (rice product) is *mahāmāṃsa* (human-flesh)	is Amoghasiddhi, hence is present the same way.
kunduru (resin) is the union of the two	is the union of sense organ and perception
vola (gum myrrh) is *vajra* (thunderbolt)	is *vijñāna* (perception), or the external *vajra*.
kakkola (perfume) is lotus	is the secret lotus, or else the external secret *prajñā*, by means of these, one acts in *yoga*.

That ends the first round of seven. In Nāgārjuna's commentary and accounts for each item in the *Hevajratantra* list except for "*dhyāna* (small drum) is *asparśa* (untouchable)," omitted in Nāgārjuna's list, or omitted in manuscript copying. In the subsequent rounds Nāgārjuna treats the very same expressions with different comments, and *dhyāna* does appear in the third round.

Nāgārjuna's commentary suggests that the *Hevajratantra* has given the basic list of "twilight language." These are expressions for ambiguous *yoga* states, while "non-twilight language" refers to states of *yoga* that are not ambiguous. Both these alternatives should be distinguished from the

other sets, *nirdartha, nirdartha, yathārutha, na-yathārutha* and while a similarly extended discussion of the technical terms would take us afield from our main topic, some brief explanations, following Lindtner, *Prajñāpradīpa*, are in order. In tantric usage *nirdartha* and *nirdartha* are alternative explanations for a given term, usually referring to a momentous or precious element of the body. For example, in the case of the expression "great blood," the *nirartha* is ordinary human blood, the *nirartha* is menstrual blood. The sets *yathārutha* and *na-yathārutha* refer to the terms employed for given objective entities. When the term employed is standard, it is *yathārutha*. When the term is coined apparently to enable the readers of the collection to preserve secrecy even if the texts are into unworthy hands, it is *na-yathārutha*. In this case, "twilight expression" does not refer to a definite given entity, and it is not a meaning *artha*.

The Diamond Song

Immediately after the section on "twilight language" in the *Hevajra-tantra*, there is a tantric song in the type of language called Apabhraṃśa (some may be defined as the Bengali, which is generally used for the mystic songs, called *bāha*). The Siddhas, tantric masters, such as Saraha and Kāṇha, have left a remarkable group of these songs, the translations of which are variously called *Dohā* or *Caryāgīti* (or *Caryāgīta*).

Of course, the various commentators on the *Hevajra-tantra* have each had to explain, in the context, this tantric song, and Snellgrove, who edited and translated the *Hevajra-tantra*, naturally used some of these materials for his texts in English. In fact, the great tantric master Naropa has represented the text of the song along with his explanations in his commentary on particular expressions of the *Hevajra-tantra*, in the *Vajrapadasaṃgrahapañjikā*, extant in Tibetan (PTT Vol. 94, pp. [illegible] to [illegible], where his commentary on his position occupies p. [illegible] ff.). This is a song of the engagement (*karma*) and the foregoing section on antinomian activity, as has been three times of and more fully, and, in fact, the name of the engagement is mentioned by the *Abhisamaya*. There is a considerable amount of information in his topic pertaining to the Stage of Completion (*saṃsiddhi-krama*), in my forthcoming Vajrā in the *Guhyasamāja*. As in the song, so Naropa's commentary provides an understanding of what is a punctuation reading Snellgrove's translation and notes. This is not to deny the value of the *Hevajra* notes and Snellgrove's labors, in fact, his information has the basic outline of enlightenment is here in the head, where, according to Kāṇha, it is a helpful addition, as are his notes generally. But he is wrong the meaning of "diamond skull" as explained in my section on "[illegible] observances." One

should observe. [illegible] the sung raises [illegible] granted the basic but of [illegible] language expressions. [illegible] OM MANI PADME HUM. [illegible] the gem in the lotus. Hum. Sarugrowers [illegible] adopted with a low [illegible]

* * *

KOLA RE TTHA NOLA MUMMUNIRE KARKOLA

[illegible]

CHANAKPETTA HONAKA KAMMA KAGANA BOLA

[illegible]

THAMBA [illegible] CHOTTI MAANA PUJAI

[illegible]

HALI KALNARA PANA [illegible] TAHM VARJA

[illegible] should be avoided

CANNAMA KANCHURI NIHLA KAPPURA TÂJAI

[illegible] inseparable from them)

MANANDHANA VÂLDA TAHM BHAR KHÊAI

[illegible]

PREMKHANA KHÊLA KARAN TAN CHANNA MUNAI

[illegible]

NIRAMNA AMMANA CALABA TAHM JA NARABA PANI

[illegible]

MANAYAJA KUNDURU BATAAI DINDOMA TIHAM NA VAJJAA!

[illegible]

drum (ḍiṇḍima) (in any event because it is "untouchable" *Hevajra*'s "Dombi" and ultimately, because everything has become unified).

* * *

Concerning the "coming and going" of that song, the *Saṃdhibhāṣā-ṭīkā*, as previously cited, has the explanation that is inhalation (and exhalation). Such remarks point to the yoga practice of the "pot" (*kumbhaka*), which is treated in my subsequent section on Nine Orifices.

III

SPECIAL STUDIES

Both the one who is ignorant of the yoga of wind
And the one who knowing it does not practice it,
Are *saṃsāra's* worm,
Afflicted by all sorts of suffering

Saṃvarodaya-tantra

12

THE NINE ORIFICES OF THE BODY

It is a well-known feature of Buddhist canonical literature that one of the chief early disciples of the Buddha, Maudgalyayana (Pali Moggallāna, was credited with special magical powers (*iddhi* in Pāli, *ṛddhi* in Sanskrit) with which he often visited various other realms of the world than ours, such as the hells and heavens. *The Mahāvastu* (Vol. I) soon takes up an account of this disciple's visits to the eight great hells and other realms. These stories do not explain how he managed to accomplish the feat. It is only much later—as far as I know—in the Buddhist Tantra literature, that one can find an explanation of how a yogin can contact the subdivisions of the three worlds, according to the traditional Buddhist classification, that is to say, the realm of desire, realm of form, and formless realm. The realm of desire is said to include the six passion deity families, as well as men, animals, hungry ghosts (*preta*), and hell beings. The realm of form is called, for medicative purposes, the four dhyānas, and has further divisions. The formless realm also has its divisions of the bases of infinite space, infinite perception, and so on. These divisions are known from early Buddhist literature and are discussed acutely in the branch of literature called Abhidharma. According to the tantric literature as will be cited below, the way a yogin like Maudgalyāyana can gain entrance to those worlds is analogous to how a person might go there after death by reason of destiny. In short, the yogin concentrates in a special way on various body orifices that are deemed to be correlated with the beings of various realms, while the person who dies with his stream of consciousness passing through one orifice or another, goes to the appropriate realm of the intermediate state (*antarābhava*). The orifices themselves are made salient in ancient Indian literature. The rest may well have been strictly oral for

centuries, but there are suggestions of the rather curious theory herein unfolded in the wide-spread injunction to think of a deity in the hour of death so as to go to the realm of that deity. Such a teaching is found in the Hindu classic, the *Bhagavadgītā*, and the famous American Sanskritist Franklin Edgerton once collected many materials on this subject for an article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* (1927).

The nine orifices are referred to in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which has this well-known verse (III, 18).

> The embodied swan moves to and fro, in the city of
> nine gates and outside, the controller of the whole
> world of the stationary and the moving.

This tradition of nine is maintained in the *Bhagavadgītā* (V, 13), where the mention of nine gates is commented upon as the two eyes, the two ears, the two nostrils, the mouth, and the two organs (male) of excretion and generation. However, the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (I, 2, 1) refers to the city of eleven gates, and the commentary adds the navel and the opening at the top of the skull to the list of nine.

In a native Tibetan work of astrology, the *Dge ldan rtsis* (Sec. Ja, by Mi-pham tshaṅs-sras dgyes-pa'i-rdo-rje), there is a correspondence of orifices and planets which is of interest to mention here simply because the nine differ by inclusion of the navel and omission of the mouth, which at least shows a lack of unanimity on what the nine orifices are when spelled out.

two eyes		Sun (right eye) and Moon (left eye)
two ears	—	Mars and Mercury
two nostrils	—	Jupiter and Venus
navel	—	Saturn
urethra anus	}	Rāhu and Ketu (head and tail of the dragon)

When we pass to the Buddhist Tantras, we find in the Buddhajñānapāda wing of the *Guhyasamājatantra* tradition, in the work of the founder Buddhaśrījñānapāda, his *Dvikrama-tattvabhāvanā-nāma-mukhāgama* (PTT, Vol. 65, p. 8-5 to p. 9-1), this list of nine orifices in explanation of transfer or transit (*saṃkrānti*) by a yogin or through death by way of one or other orifice to an associated external realm: 1 forehead, 2 navel, 3 crown of head, 4. eyes, 5. ears, 6. nostrils, 7 mouth, 8 urethra, and 9 anus. This list includes the eleven of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, reduced in number by counting the eyes, ears, and nostrils, as one each, and then adds the forehead center. The work continues in this manner

> One should understand the forehead as the prognostic of the realm of form (*rūpadhātu*) and birth (there). The navel is the prognostic place of the gods of the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*) and certainty of birth among them. The crown of head is the prognostic source of the formless realms (arūpyas) and birth therein. If there is transfer of knowledge in the two nostrils, the person is born in the abode of the yakṣas. The two ears are the certain passage to the abode of vidyādharas. The two eyes are the prognostics for birth as a king of men. In the case of transit of knowledge through the mouth, one may understand it as the prognostic of pretas (hungry ghosts). One should take the urethra as the prognostic for prognostics of animals. One should understand the going of knowledge through the anus as the prognostic of the hell beings. Having thus understood the individual aspects for transfer of knowledge, one should do (mantra) placement in the seven upper orifices by means of the syllable of five sounding (*nādita*). One should place SŪM in the urethra and KṢI M in the anus. Having thus stopped up the seven orifices, when one searches the place through the following sequence with one's own mind, he will certainly go to that very realm.

Before going further, let me summarize that passage

Orifice	*Prognostic of what place or beings*
forehead	realm of form
navel	passion gods in realm of desire
crown of head	formless realms
nostrils	abode of yakṣas
ears	abode of vidyādharas
eyes	a king of men
mouth	hungry ghosts
urethra	animals
anus	hell beings

Vitapāda's commentary on that work, the *Mukhāgamavṛtti* (PTT, Vol. 65, p. 65-1,2) explains: The six orifices, forehead, etc. are bad. The three orifices, urethra, etc. are bad. Therefore one should understand the prognostic for birth therein by the coming and going of one's own knowledge (*jñāna*) in either the good or bad orifices. (His subsequent comments show that "knowledge" means the yogin's knowledge, hence that the yogin can establish a correlation with a certain realm by centering his knowledge or know-how, in a certain orifice). In the case of the yakṣas, this means birth as Vaiśravaṇa and other yakṣas on Mt. Meru. Vidyādhara

(holding the occult science) means becoming a yogin who has *siddhi* and the eight *siddhis* of eye ointment etc. The five sounds are HŪṂ because this is the sounding of the five Buddhas. In the case of SUṂ for the urethra, it is white, KṢUṂ for the anus is yellow. Having stopped up (or plugged) the orifices, one goes to one's own realm of mind (*citraddhara*). One searches by the eight methods of recitation etc.

In agreement with a portion of these statements, Bhavabhadra states in the *Śrī Cakrāṣṭaka-nāma-mahāsaṃvarādya-ṭīkā* (Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Tha, 137a-2):

> The text: "From the navel, the gods of the desire realm," means that any perceptual stream (*vijñāna*) that goes forth from the navel orifice is born among the gods of the desire realm. The text: "With the form of the *bindu*, heaven," means that any such one that goes forth from the orifice in the middle of the forehead is born among the gods of the realm of form. The text: "proceeding upwards," means going forth through the golden door (the Brahmarandhra).

This author, Bhavabhadra, has written a commentary on the Tantra *Ārya-Cakra-saṃvara*, which is also an authority for what are known as the gates to the intermediate state (*antarābhava*).

Notice, in short, that the three bad destinies of hungry ghosts, animals and hell beings, are correlated respectively with the mouth, urethra, and anus, which accordingly are the three bad orifices, while the two good destinies of men and gods are correlated with the other six, which are the good orifices. But notice also that the mouth is included among the seven upper orifices in terms of methods for blocking the orifices. Apparently the practice of the yogin is to stop or inhibit the passage through the orifices is accomplished by imagining a mantra syllable at each of the orifices.

I also noticed what at first seemed to be a peculiar theory in the *Saṃpuṭa-tantra* about nine orifices, and did not feel confident about including it without consulting the commentaries. Upon referring to the three commentaries in the Tanjur, using the Narthang edition, I did not readily find the place in Indrabhūti's commentary (Toh. 97), the *Sarvatathāgata-samādhi-sūtra*, so turned to the explanations which I quickly located in Abhayākaragupta's *Āmnāyamañjarī* (Toh. 1198) and in Śūraśrī's *Ratna-ṭīkā* (Toh. 199). Abhayākaragupta (Dbal-bang Tanjur, Rgyud, Dza, 14b-ff.) states that the practice belongs to the Stage of Completion. The use of seed syllables or of evoked goddesses here seems also to mean plugging or guarding against over respective orifices by imagining seed syllables and goddesses in those places. This tradition employs different syllables than the preceding system, which suggests that the important thing

is not the particular syllables employed but rather a consistency or sticking to the same system throughout all the practice. In the *Sampuṭa-tantra* tradition the seed-syllables belong to the eight forms of the goddess Jñānaḍāk ni (the Wisdom Ḍākinī), for which reason the nostrils and ears are counted as one orifice in the correspondence system of eight terms, and are counted as two in order to get the total of nine orifices. Combining the data from the two commentaries, and helped by the *maṇḍala* No. 4 in the *Niṣpannayogāvali* (edited by B. Bhattacharyya), the following summary is possible (unfortunately, some of the seed syllables are still questionable):

TABLE 1

ORIFICES, AND EMANATIONS OF THE WISDOM ḌĀKINĪ

ORIFICE	SEED-SYLLABLE (*bīja*)	GODDESS
crown of head	of fire—KSUṂ	Vajraḍākinī
eyes	of earth—HOṂ	Ghoraḍākinī
nostrils and ears	of wind—YUṂ	Caṇḍālī
tongue	of ambrosial water—SUṂ	Vetālī
neck	purifying delusion—STUṂ	Siṃhinī, the Lion-faced
arms (armpits?)	purifying pain—HAṂ	Vyāghrī, the Tiger-faced
heart	purifying vibration—SMAṂ	Jambukī, the Jackal-faced
navel	of lord of animals (paśupati)—DHUṂ	Ulūkī, the Owl-faced

There are some intriguing features to that table. For one thing, the four elements which the seed-syllables represent are stated in the standard astrological order, because Aries is a fire sign, Taurus earth, Gemini wind, and Cancer water; with the same order repeated for the rest of the zodiacal signs. Reference to the materials in my essay "Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras" will show that ordinarily the four elements are made to correspond to the element *cakras* navel, throat (= neck), heart, and privities. The present table does not have an entry for "privities" and so there is an implication that "arms" is the replacement for "legs." Because the four elements are not here in the usual location, they must be understood in an extraordinary way, as explicitly stated for water, i.e. "ambrosial water." Again, when the *Sampuṭa-tantra* (PTT

Of those eight forms of the Wisdom Ḍākinī, the most famous is the Lion-faced one, and frequently the Wisdom Ḍākinī is identified with his particular form in evocation (*sādhana*) rites. According to the *Niṣpannayogāvali* her "heart" mantra is OṂ HRĪḤ SVĀHĀ. This text also singles out the *ḍākinī* Vetālī for a mantra, OṂ VETĀLĪ HOṂ SVĀHĀ, that is said to be "all-active" (*sarvakarmika*). The *ḍākinī* Vajraḍākinī and presumably the following three are to be identified with the *ḍākinīs* pictured in the collection called *Rin 'byung* (see Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, Part 9, Rin 'byung 4.). The geometric type of the *ḍākinī* posture is depicted by the drawing "Buddhaḍākinī" in my chapter on Tantric Ritual.

[illegible] p. [illegible] 1.1.4 assigned the deliverance to Sakka in the tale, one might have [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

of the pratyekabuddhas is in the mid forehead; the Incomparable Right-completed Enlightenment is in the uṣṇīṣa. The word uṣṇīṣa means "bearer"; hence in the iconographic "the long ears of the Buddha and hence the Śrāvakas must practice meditation also the half-closed eyes and gaze for controlling the breath and the exercises such must be the meaning of his enlightenment shown in the face."

Another aspect to the orifices is how they function as entrances, and this topic is the form of entrances in the future parents by a being of the Intermediate State (antarābhava), which are the three possible entrances by a gandharva is discussed in my essay "The Five-fold Rosary Sādhana of Passion" (quoted in the present work). There is also the entrance of divinity in the form of the knowledge being (vidyādhara).

A further technique even more mysterious is the reputed art of reanimating a fresh corpse. This is called in Tibetan grong 'jug (entering the corpse). It is one of the most esoteric teachings of the Marpa Mitrepa lineage, descended from Nāro-pā.

Turning to the topic of passage through the orifices, no matter how much a single researcher collects material on these points, there are various books in the Tibetan canon or elsewhere, he cannot bring together he is unable to form a unified picture such as one finds in one of the great Tibetan manuals that have integrated the canonical textual points with the oral instructions of the gurus. Such a picture commentary on the Six Yogas of Nāro-pā, the Tsol-chen gsum-dan, I previously such an integrated work and I through my teachings in other works of this author over the years enabled me to read six texts in this point also, namely his passage explaining the transit (pho ba) Sarvajñā (ye-shes-dar). Just prior to the passage I shall translate (PTT Vol. [illegible] p. [illegible] to p. [illegible]) he states that a person who is sick, suffering, or old, should not engage in this practice and after the passage he alludes to some deviate views about it.

* * *

> There are two basic counsels about transit. Of these, two: [first] the purification (sangs ba) is as follows. The Incomparable [illegible] the Śrāvakas [illegible] states: "The alimentary canals (mathes) of the place are to be purified. After their purification one should perform transit of the state of being. Otherwise it would be purposeless." That refers to the external [illegible] pleasure and pain of the place of the body. This is Bhavabhadra's explanation that "one cannot without having first purified by cultivation of the heat, the nadis (rgyan) [illegible] purposeless." Thus the purification of the heat is a distinguished basis for accomplishing the transit. Furthermore

2. Compare with the translation of his part of Tsong-kha-pa's text in E. A. Maitre, editor, *Esoteric Teachings of the Tibetan Tantra*, Eastern & Wing Press, 96, pp. 21–55.

[illegible]

the rite is as follows. One should put the nine parts of the body in [illegible] up position and [illegible] with his two hands. One should start with taking refuge and generating the mind of enlightenment. Then from the realm of the Twelve where oneself is the Victory deity [illegible] arise in the space straight up in front of one's head at a distance from [illegible] to six feet at a [illegible] level. The guru and victory deity in inseparable manner. Joyfully invited with devotion and faith [illegible] descends here. Then having brought [illegible] the A of the navel, the HŪṂ of the heart, and the KṢA of the crown of the head, [illegible] drawing the lower wind one contemplates the A itself as [illegible] the [illegible] and while moving upward produces a [illegible] sound. [illegible] and discovers in the HŪṂ of the heart and one recites A HŪṂ KṢA for as many times as necessary. Further more the HŪṂ itself produces while moving upward and [illegible] A HŪṂ up to [illegible] and contemplates that in the HŪṂ is producing a [illegible]. Then one should contemplate the Tetragram KṢA [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] part where in the Tetragram [illegible] the starry [illegible] and reciting A HŪṂ [illegible] one sees that HŪṂ produced has to [illegible] the [illegible] and dissolve in the heart of the inseparable guru and victory deity [illegible] consciousness. [illegible] way he [illegible] the reason [illegible] deities of the Tetragram. That shows in abbreviated form the transit according to the sayings of the guru and the Catuṣpīṭha.

* * *

Tsok Khapa's passage establishes rather clearly that some of the varying descriptions, for example some of those around the word [illegible] have to do with the separate phases of the practice. That is to say the descriptions may concern the phase of purifying the orifices and the [illegible] containing the [illegible] which is referred to as the [illegible] or the descriptions may concern the phase of [illegible] of the perception [illegible] through the gate at the crown of the head.

Tsok Khapa refers to three degrees of [illegible] which he treated earlier in his [illegible]. He may not intend his [illegible] to be [illegible] PTT [illegible]. The [illegible] however, the doubling of that is he [illegible] the [illegible] of the guru. The text seems to mean the number of times one performs the [illegible] thereby strengthening it. The great [illegible] thus amounts to 108 times.

1. Mirror Hindu Tantra [illegible] and Practice (New York, 1981) pp. 244-47 places the [illegible] the [illegible] yoga, the heart, and the rite of the [illegible] power (to use the Hindu terminology).

That brings us to the question of what is meant by the term *kumbhaka*. This involves considering the usual conditions of [illegible] through the orifices and the contrasting abnormal or yoga condition of that [illegible] from the various orifices. Buddhaguhya states in the [illegible] and Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, [illegible] the [illegible] as issuing from and entering the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, navel, male and female sex organs, the excretory orifice, the pores of head hair and body hair. Buddhaguhya is also the author of the *Tantrārthāvatāra* (Toh. 2501), upon which Padmavajra's *Tantrārthāvatāra-vyākhyāna* (Toh. 2502) comments (Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Hi, 169b-5, ff.):

> Moreover, we must explain the orifices through which the winds [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] them and [illegible] through what [illegible]. They issue [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] and all the pores. [illegible] When through [illegible] they [illegible] and when [illegible] bound fast, they [illegible] short [illegible] and subsequently [illegible] gathering [illegible] the navel [illegible] the breath in *kumbhaka* [illegible] gathers [illegible] in the manner of [illegible] breathing [illegible] stream and [illegible] streaming. Retained as though reaching a deep [illegible] equalizes them. [illegible] when [illegible] The [illegible] whereupon the heart gets [illegible] Moreover [illegible] one holds the breath [illegible] through [illegible] from [illegible] When [illegible] it is said, "There is no accomplishment of *samādhi*."[21]

One striking fact emerges in Buddhaguhya's treatment of the process of *kumbhaka*: holding the breath in the body as though it were a pot [illegible] as we have [illegible] the foregoing [illegible] *kumbhaka* here is not the ordinary method of taking a deep breath and trying to hold one's breath, but a gradual method

of drawing in the breath by imperceptible degrees, with the tongue lapping it up as though it were water drops.[4] Also, implicit in all these discussions is the theory of winds in the body operating in their individual cycles with individual colors and the like, with which the yogin must be familiar.

Tsoń-kha-pa's Anuttarayoga treatment involves the central vein of the body, hence the system of three chief veins (in the position of the spine) and implies the system of *cakras*. In this connection, there is the terminology "upper orifice" and "lower orifice." Thus the tantric writer Bhavyakīrti mentions in his *Prakāśikā* commentary on the *Pradīpoddyotana* (PTT, Vol. 61, p. 5): "Arises via the 'upper orifice' means, via the path of the two nostrils of the face," but the upper orifice is also treated as the neck. The "lower orifice" is at the position of the Hindu Mūlādhāra, the perineum triangle, which in the male is at the root of the penis, the juncture of the three veins. The *Shags rim chen mo* (437a-1) cites the *Sampuṭa-tantra*:

> The left *nāḍī* (i.e. *lalanā*) starting at the neck
> is She with the Sambhogakāya (i.e. the "sister"),
> who rests at the navel, and drips intoxication into
> the lower orifice.
>
> The *nāḍī* (*rasanā*) going upward from the navel is (She)
> likewise dripping in the upper orifice, who rests at the
> neck and is known to drip blood (i.e. She with the
> Nirmāṇakāya, the "daughter").
> The intoxication is explained as moon.
> The blood is said to be sun.

That is rather obscure, but is presented here to contact mystically with some of the foregoing materials and also to add an aspect to the orifices that ties in with subsequent tantric studies in this work.

There are some unanswered questions. For example, what is meant by "the yogin's knowledge" for concentrating in a certain orifice? Here, a curious personal experience may be mentioned. In the year 1946, soon upon returning to Los Angeles after I was discharged from the U.S. Army, an older friend of mine took me along with another friend who had just been discharged from the U.S. Navy to a free public demonstration by an occult-type organization that expected thereby to encourage some of the attendees to enroll for private instruction for which charges were made.

4. See Alain Danielou, *Yoga: The Method of Re-Integration* (London, 1949), especially pp. 58-60, for some Hindu theories of *kumbhaka* practice. This author calls it the "chalice." I use the word "pot" because the idea is to succeed by degrees of attainment to draw in the breath so slowly that the body can be considered a pot that is being filled by water drop by drop, where the "water" is of course the droplets of air.

In that good-sized hall which could easily seat a hundred or more persons, the guide instructed us to meditate on our heart while breathing in unison with the measured sound beat made by a metronome, and at a rate which presumably was set to agree with heart beat time. In a very short while I experienced a strange shift of consciousness. I was in some mysterious place with a force rushing back and forth and became terrified. Promptly I gave up the measured breathing and returned back to normal consciousness, [illegible] through the rest of the session without [illegible] experiencing. At the conclusion of the [illegible] asked the others [illegible] what they had experienced. Each reported that he had followed the directions but nothing in particular happened. This example shows that by concentrating on a spot of the body in a certain way, [illegible] the breathing and so on, it is possible to [illegible] and it is possible [illegible] and perhaps [illegible] he must be prepared for such a knowledge of how to do it and what to expect, the standard of success and what to do [illegible]. That is the yogin's knowledge."

Another observation is that the texts cited make no distinction between the male and the female as regards the [illegible] although it might be thought that the female has one more [illegible] these texts are not [illegible] there must be an explanation [illegible] I found a passage [illegible] the [illegible] *Pañcakrama* (P.T. [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] Hence he enumerates the [illegible] passage [illegible] Accordingly, the [illegible] are also nine.

However, [illegible] Hindu [illegible] by Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults* [illegible] pp. [illegible] the [illegible] "tenth door" [illegible] the head that starts [illegible] the head. Through [illegible] which is discharged out of the [illegible] called the "tenth door."

[illegible] whether [illegible] theme [illegible] suggests [illegible] developed manner of the tantric texts cited herein.

13

TANTRIC TEACHINGS ABOUT THE INNER ZODIAC

Ever since persons have come to believe in personal horoscopy, they have wondered why it should work. Doubtless the same question occurred in India because belief in astrology has been deep seated there for many centuries. The Buddhist Tantras of the Mother Tantra variety in the Anuttarayoga tradition have some theories of an inner zodiac, in all likelihood worked out in conjunction with northern Śaivism, probably Kashmir Śaivism. While these theories, insofar as I have come across them, are not sufficiently elaborated to show a determined rationalization to find an inner equivalent for the outer disposition of planets, etc. of a horoscope, it should be of interest to present these theories as I have found them.

In any case, the theories do not speak of any zodiacal circle hidden in the body, with the sun and other planets circling accordingly. Besides, while traditional astrology classifies the signs into four groups by the elements of fire, earth, wind, water, and has seven planetary rulers, the tantric theories of an inner zodiac use the fifth element "space" (*ākāśa*) which is sometimes translated "ether" and add Rāhu and Ketu (head and tail of the dragon that causes eclipses, i.e. the ascending and descending nodes) as planetary rulers. Furthermore, some theories might be inconsistent, or, perhaps it is better to say that it has not been an easy task to reconcile them. However, all the theories take for granted the tantric theory of three central veins (*nāḍī*) in the position of the spinal column (perhaps to be located in a so-called "subtle body" rather than in the physical body) referred to as right, left and middle, with their names differing in the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras.

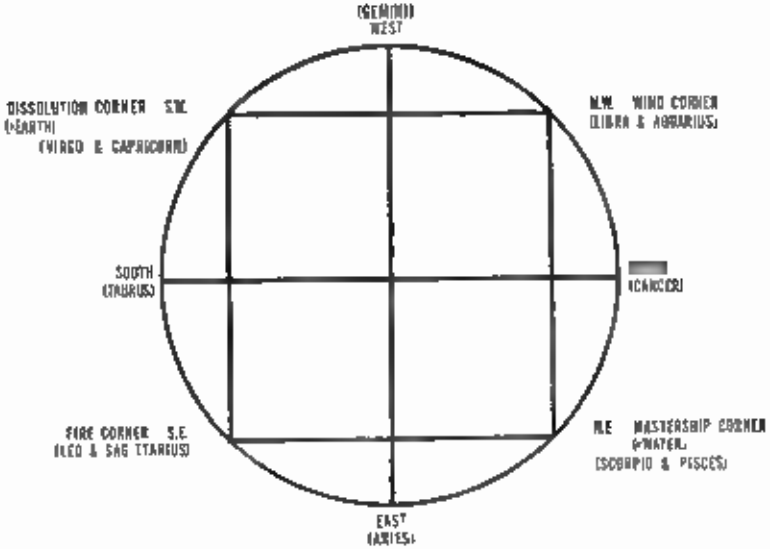
	Right	*Middle*	*Left*
Hindu	Piṅgalā	Suṣumnā	Iḍā
Buddhist	Rasanā	Avadhūtī	Lalanā

Besides, these systems range centers or critical vortexes at various places along this triadic central system. These are usually called *cakras* or "lotuses" (*padma*). The Hindu explanations are well known through the voluminous writings of Arthur Avalon. The Buddhist tantric explanation is available, for example, in S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, pp. 60–74. One can also refer to Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*, pp. 216–45 on these same matters, and there is considerable information in my forthcoming *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*.

The Heart Cakra

The tantric theory of the heart *cakra* can be elucidated by an interesting treatment of the inner zodiac found in Padmavajra's work in the field of Mother Tantra entitled, *Śrī Dākārṇavamahāyogiṇītantrarājaṭīkā-dākārṇava* (Tōhoku No. 1479, Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Dza, 268b5–ff.). On folio 289a, he assigns the zodiacal signs to petals of the heart *cakra*. Here I replace the Sanskrit and Tibetan terms with the standard Western equivalents. A minor correction was made of an obvious text corruption (an exchange of Cancer and Aquarius positions) since Aquarius belongs to the West Corner, and also because the famous work of Indian astrology, Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, states in Chap. 1, verse 1 that Aries, Taurus, Gemini, and Cancer with their triangular signs (their element families) represent the four quarters commencing from the East. On the facing page is Padmavajra's solution. Observe the clockwise orientation."

In accordance with Varāhamihira's hint, perhaps he had in mind the inner zodiac), one can take the cardinal direction sign along with the intermediate direction pair to make an individual set (the zodiacal triangle), e.g. Aries in the East along with Leo and Sagittarius (S.E.), as the fire set. This reduction to four quarters would have to be accepted as the more primitive formulation representing the early development of the heart *cakra*. This is only partially consistent with the explanation in Tsoń-kha-pa's *Sngagrim chen mo* (Peking blockprint 4346-5 ff.), where five goddesses are shown to be the personifications of four directional veins of the heart as the essence of the elements and of sense objects, with a fifth goddess in the middle (the central vein, the Avadhūtī). The group of four goddesses (their Sanskrit names in the *Herukatantra*, I. 8) are in the given order: Trāyiṇī, Kāmini, Gehā, and Laṅkā, while Māradārika is in the middle. The passages which Tsoń-kha-pa cites do not state completely, nor does



An Astrological Representation of the Heart Cakra

his own commentary—the respective correspondences to the four elements. One passage does say, "earth, etc." But they do state the relation to sense objects, and since the identification with elements of the four main goddesses in the *Guhyasamājatantra* (Chap. XVII) also starts with earth (the goddess Locanā), we are justified in setting up the following correspondences, where the successive rows indicate clockwise order

TABLE 12

THE FOUR GODDESSES OF THE HEART

GODDESS (*Hevajratantra*)	GODDESS (*Guhyasamājatantra*)	ELEMENT	SENSE DOMAIN
Traivṛtā	Locanā	Earth	Form (rūpa)
Kāmini	Māmakī	Water	Sound (śabda)
Gehā	Pāṇḍarā	Fire	Odor (gandha)
Caṇḍikā	Tārā	Wind	Taste (rasa)

It is plain that the order of elements cannot be interpreted in terms of external astrology, where discordant elements alternate, i.e. Aries (fire), Taurus (earth), Gemini (wind), and Cancer (water). But in my subsequent discussion of transits there is a possible reconciliation in terms of element wind correspondences to the zodiacal signs. Moreover, the correspondences in the above table between elements and sense domains are mostly inconsistent with the correspondences in Table 2 in the chapter on Analogical Thinking.

Now the same context in the *Shags rim chen mo* mentions that the fifth goddess Māradārikā (daughter of Māra) represents the sense domain of *dharma*, and so also the element of space (*ākāśa*), and since this goddess is located in the central channel, she is between the left and the right. According to the *Sampuṭa* citation in *Shags rim*, 437a-6

> The two "veins", i.e. the left and the right,
> and the birthplace in the middle –
> One should know that semen is on the left and
> blood (= menstrual blood) on the right. Their
> mutual admixture is the mixture Dharmadhātu.

(This language is related to the Indian theory that the embryo is created from the man's semen and the woman's menstrual blood).

The usage of the term "*dharmadhātu*" in this context is equivalent to another word of this literature, "*dharmodaya*" (source of dharmas). In this

tantric context, *dharmadhātu* means a birthplace, but in non-tantric Buddhism, it appears to be described by negatives.

Besides, the *Shags rim* (435a-2, ff.) differentiates the middle into three veins (right, left, and middle), to make a total of eight heart veins in this system (five goddesses, and three central veins). Tsoń-kha-pa, in the same place, shows that in the conditions of womb the three main veins (called the "three queens") are the basis of all. However, the set of five, representing the five elements as well as the five sense objects, begin operations during the phases of the womb and continue them during life, while the three main veins apparently begin a new function upon the start of a living birth, so they would perhaps be responsible for the astrological true time of birth.

Transits

It should be mentioned that Padmavajra (in the previously cited *Vāmakajīkā-nāma*, 286b-3, ff.) besides the solution already mentioned, also makes the division of the twelve signs into "right" and "left", associating them with "rise of breath". Here the six right (odd-numbered) ones begin with Aquarius, and the six left (even-numbered) ones begin with Capricorn. In Tsoń-kha-pa's collected works, Lhasa ed., Vol. Da, "*Dus khor Nam le*" —perhaps should read *Khams le*, 22b-, ff.) we read: "In the same way that outside the sun transits the twelve signs, so inside, the wind transmigrates with twelve transits the lotus veins." In the same work, 36b-4, ff. he mentions that the wind transits the six right petals and the six left petals.

Presumably it is with reference to the Hindu system, interpreted as the solar year, that in Kashmirian Śaivism, Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* (Vol. IV, p. 97) states:

> Arising from the heart in Capricorn, etc., which
> are the six and six intervals, the sun would enact the
> six months of Māgha, etc., and the progress to the North.

Compare with the popular Śaiva classic *Śivasvarodaya*, verses 73-74:

> There are twelve transits (*saṃkrama*) within the day
> and night: Taurus, Cancer, Virgo, Scorpio, Capricorn,
> Pisces, are in the "moon" (i.e. the breath rises in
> the left *nāḍī*). During Aries, Gemini, Leo, Libra,
> Sagittarius, and Aquarius, one ascertains good or bad in the
> rise (of breath) in the right (*nāḍī*).

1. See D. Seyfort Ruegg, "Le *Dharmadhātustava* de Nāgārjuna," *Études tibétaines* (Paris, 1971), especially, p. 466.

Notice the difference in statement. In the case of six and six intervals of the sun (as in Tson-kha-pa's *kālacakra* passage and Abhinavagupta's verse), the signs are divided into two groups, with consecutive signs in each group (say from Capricorn to Gemini and from Cancer to Sagittarius). But in the other arrangement (Padmavajra's "right" and "left" and the *Śivasvarodaya*) the signs are divided into two groups on the basis of their being "right" or "left" oriented.

The allotment of twelve signs to a single *cakra* might be intended by the Hindu Anāhata-cakra, which is a red lotus of twelve petals, situated just below the eight-petalled heart-lotus that faces upward. In the standard representation of this *cakra* (see, for example, Arthur Avalon, *The Serpent Power*), the twelve petals of this heart lotus are arranged in a circle. It is difficult to imagine if this be the intention—how the same twelve-petalled lotus could function both for two sets of six signs transited consecutively and for two sets of six signs functioning according to "left" and "right". But the four passages might all be consistent by virtue of the following materials.

A native Tibetan work on astrology in my possession[2] divides the inner signs into two groups by northern and southern progress, in consecutive transits, with the northern group termed "auspicious" and the southern group "inauspicious". This has to do with "element winds", and is undoubtedly the esoteric side of Indian lore that goes with, whether or not, explains, the celebrated passage of the *Bhagavadgītā* (VIII 24-25),

> Fire, light, day, the increasing phases (of the Moon),
> the six months of the northern path (of the Sun),
> then going forth the men who know the Absolute go to
> the Absolute.
>
> Smoke, night, so also the decreasing phases (of the Moon),
> the six months of the southern progress (of the Sun),
> in them the yogin obtains the lunar light and returns
> (to earth).

That Tibetan work is in fact a commentary on an astrological treatise in the Tanjur (i.e. translated from the Sanskrit, that is probably in the tradition of Kashmir Śaivism). I consulted this Tanjur work (Toh. 4322, the *Yuddhajaya-nāma-tantrarāja-svarodaya-nāma*) in the Narthang edition to get some idea of how much was being added by the Tibetan commentator in the work which I now cite (6a-6b), and can say at the outset that the

2. The Dpal gYu ba rtsam par rgyal ba i rgyud don rab tu gsal ba' bsag gi bkod pa kun gzigs dbyans. char chen po ñel gyi me lon ñes byin ba.

native work is most helpful and shows deep study of the subject from different angles, including the *Kālacakratantra* tradition.

> The two paths of sun and moon are explained as the southern and northern progress.
>
> According to the sequence at the time of the left movement, the ākāśa wind descends by the middle (channel). That is the sign of Aries.
>
> The passage of the fire wind from above, is the sign of Taurus. the water wind from below, is Pisces
>
> The earth wind moving through the post (*ka ba*) (both nostrils), is Aquarius
>
> The wind moving through the corner (i.e. the side = left nostril) is Gemini.
>
> The five moving on the left, upon being fixed, are the Capricorn sign.
>
> The ones moving on the left are auspicious. Space works for Umā (the consort of Śiva). Fire operates for accomplishment water achieves ambrosia earth works for success. wind works for perfection.
>
> Their planetary rulers in sequence are Rāhu (head of the dragon), Venus. Moon. Mercury, Jupiter The Tantra did not tell the planetary ruler of *ākāśa*
>
> Then, at the time of moving on the right—the space (*ākāśa*), fire, water earth, and wind (winds), moving by reliance on the middle, above. below. post, and corner, are respectively, Libra, Scorpio, Virgo, Leo, Sagittarius, and all five upon being fixed are Cancer
>
> The movements on the right are inauspicious. Space works for terror Fire operates for death Water achieves ignorance Earth yields conflagration. Wind operates for suffering.
>
> Their rulers are, in sequence, Mercury—for space. and Mars, Saturn, Sun, and Ketu (tail of the dragon).

There are a few difficulties or drawbacks with the above native Tibetan verse solution of the Tanjur work (which is also in verse). First of all. since it admits that the Tanjur work did not assign a ruler to "space" the fifth element that was added to the classical four—fire, air, water.

earth it quite reasonably assigned Rāhu to "space" in the left series, since Rāhu is the planet added to the traditional ones of esoteric astrology. Furthermore in the Buddhist Tantras the middle channel corresponds to Rāhu so this agrees. But then on passing to the right series, the author assigns Mercury to the "space" element wind and here we should expect, and must correct it to Ketu since Rāhu and Ketu are the head and tail of the dragon and so Ketu also corresponds to the middle channel and "space". Besides to take the planetary rulers "in sequence" by the given order which in fact repeats the statement of the Tanjur text just does not work out. Since the addition of a new planet was necessary to govern the added element it must be presumed that the basic Tanjur text was intending those other named planets by way of the elements which they govern. Now it is well known in esoteric astrology that the Sun rules a fire sign Leo and the Moon a water sign Cancer and that the other five classical planets each rule two signs of different elements. Taking this into consideration, it is plain that there is only one solution for both the left series and the right series that is lets rulers to the inner zodiacal signs on the basis of elements which those planets govern by reason of a sign in the usual system. This is my summary of the esoteric zodiacal signs contributing the element to the system of inner zodiac.

Left Series	*Right Series*
Venus earth = Taurus (No. 2)	Saturn earth = Capricorn (No. 10)
Moon water = Cancer (No. 4)	Mars water = Scorpio (No. 8)
Jupiter fire = Sagittarius (No. 9)	Sun fire = Leo (No. 5)
Mercury wind = Gemini (No. 3)	Mercury wind = Gemini (No. 3)

In summary this would use up from among the twelve traditional signs, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10. This suggests a theory of this tradition that the classical seven planets have each their chief rulership in a given sign from among those seven of the summary. In fact, this agrees with the Western astrologers who now assign newly discovered planets to other signs, i.e. Uranus to Aquarius (No. 11), Neptune to Pisces (No. 12). Then in consideration that Indian astrology adds the head and tail of the dragon as planets, but preserves the planetary rulership according to the Greek system, it would follow that only by these features of esoteric astrology could we continue this assignment to the remaining signs with Rāhu going with Aries (No. 1) and Ketu with Libra (No. 7). Then only Virgo (No. 6) is left over. But enough of speculation!

Then no matter how the planets are assigned to the signs of the inner zodiac the chief elements of those astrological verses can be tabulated as follows:

TABLE 13

ELEMENT WINDS AND TRANSIT OF INNER ZODIACAL SIGNS FOR FRUITS

ELEMENT WIND	NORTHERN PROGRESS (left movement)	SOUTHERN PROGRESS (right movement)
(All five fixed = Solstice)	Capricorn	Cancer
Earth	Aquarius (success)	Leo (conflagration)
Water	Pisces (ambrosia)	Virgo (ignorance)
(Middle space = Equinox)	Aries (Māra, the goddess)	Libra (terror)
Fire	Taurus (accomplishment)	Scorpio (death)
Wind	Gemini (perfection)	Sagittarius (suffering)

By "all five fixed" is meant of course, all five element winds which are fixed at the time of "solstice." Presumably on these grounds Capricorn works for a blend of the other five fruits (success, etc.), while Cancer works for a blend of the other five (conflagration, etc.).

Furthermore, the meaning of left and right is clarified by the *Shags rim* (437b–4) with citation of the *Saṃvarodaya*:

> Having entered by the left,
> the right is its path of leaving.

Tsoń-kha-pa quotes the commentary: "Because the *vijñāna* which has entered, departs by way of the right and takes a sensory domain, hereupon, riding on the wind, enters by way of the *lalanā* (left vein)." This shows the meaning of left as auspicious because there is entrance of breath, and right as inauspicious because there is exit (expiration) of breath, as will be mentioned later by citation of Tsoń-kha-pa's *Sbar don*. Naturally, *vijñāna* will enter or leave in some zodiacal sign or other in the preceding sense of the inner zodiac.

The Tanjur work, the *Yuddhajaya* (Narthang, Vol. Go, 45b-5) states that the northern and southern progression is a movement in five *maṇḍalas*. The context shows that the five mean the four element *maṇḍalas*, plus the element "space" counted as a *maṇḍala*, even though it represents the "central channel" (Suṣumnā or Avadhūti). Materials in my subsequent essay "Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras" show that the earth vortex (*maṇḍala*) is in the privities, the water vortex in the heart, the fire vortex in the throat, and the wind vortex at the navel. The extended treatment in the *Shags rim chen mo* shows that the initial activity of the elements in the heart "vein" spreads out to the other centers. It appears that there is a "left" and a "right" for each *cakra* of the fourfold group of elements, while "space" (*ākāśa*) in the central channel has instead a downward and upward movement.

The Sixteen Digits of the Moon

[illegible]

> of the Vajra language, which means the seed of enlightenment from the enduring form of darkness. In the twelfth, he is the food of the rising Sun, the lunar year. In the thirteenth, he is the food of the rising Moon, the lunar year. In the fourteenth, he is the food of the (the eight planets and the quarters) well into the Angels. The eleventh is called "hence name," for which reason it is said to be free from time, and is called "introspection," and so on. One should understand all those characteristics.

It is not possible here to fully explain all that is meant by this passage which seems to intend all possible yoga experience in terms of lunar solar transits. However, a few indications of the meaning can be drawn out in a way that shows how the author builds up the theory by allowing to each solstice sign its numerical value.

The first transit suggests the "numerous knowledge" of Buddhism, because the transit into Aries is the Equinox. The second transit in Taurus, providing a body made of wind, in fact requires both "wind" and "mind-only" as will be shown in my *Yoga of the Crossbreeding*, hence two things. The third transit in Gemini shows the hypnagogic of the dive into the human by the three elements "the divine mind, its ray (like an arrow shaft) and the yogin brought into confinement."

The fourth transit in Cancer covers what in non-tantric Buddhism is called the four states of penetration (*catvaro bhagiya*) which are "warmth," "summit," "forbearance" and "superior mundane nature." This is an ancient category going back to early Buddhism. In Tantra, see *Mahamudra* pp. 28 [illegible] there is the mantra, CITTAPRATIVEDHAM KARO[illegible] ("I perform mind penetration").

In further explanation of the fifth, sixth and seventh yoga transits (in Leo, Virgo and Libra) we may see Indrabhuti, Dorje Tamer Rigyal, Co. [illegible], commenting on the *Sampuṭatantra*, in Kalpa, 24 chap.

> Now there are the thirty-seven natures ancillary to enlightenment. Here the natures of enlightenment are the five personality aggregates, [illegible] the five elements, [illegible] the five sense organs (and) the five sense objects, [illegible] (known as the five organs of action, [illegible]) and [illegible] consciousness. In this are the sixth is the aggregate of knowledge, [illegible] the element of knowledge, the organ of knowledge, the knowledge object, [illegible] the knowledge organ of action and its action. The thirty-seven are provided, hence (the) [illegible] the mantra, the knowledge mantra, in different possession of the natures. According to these are [illegible] natures, [illegible] these natures are [illegible] expanded as members (angas). Those members are of three kinds and of many kinds.

That passage shows that in this system of Mother Tantra, to the fivefold groupings, a sixth element of knowledge is added (Padmavajra "with the mind of enlightenment"), and finally a seventh, the possessor knowledge realm (Padmavajra "who have the ocean of knowledge").

The eighth transit, in Scorpio, requires an explanation that is accessible in the Father Tantra tradition of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, and available in Sanskrit in the tantric Nāgārjuna's *Pañcakrama* (Abhisambodhi-krama, verses 25-27), as translated with further explanations in my *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* (forthcoming)

> The disciple who has secured the precepts then applies himself unremittingly to *yoga* of two sorts by the sequence of "contraction" as well as by "expansion"
> Drawing (the winds) from head down, and from feet up, into the heart, the yogin enters *bhūtakoṭi* (the true limit) this is called "contraction"
> Having first rendered the stationary and the moving life into the Clear Light, he then renders that into himself this is the stage of "expansion"

Since this is the mystical experience of "death" it agrees with Scorpio's fruit (death) as shown in the Table

There is no point in dilating upon the ninth transit, because I have devoted a whole essay to the theory of nine orifices. Skipping to the eleventh and twelfth transits, the same Tibetan astrological work cited in my Nine Orifices essay (the *Dge ldan rtsis*), presents in the section called *Rtsis gre* the series of numerical correspondences the elevenfold are the names of forms of Śiva, and the twelvefold the names or forms of Viṣṇu. In the case of Śiva, he is said to have transcended the fourth, meaning that he is beyond the four states of consciousness, waking, dreaming, dreamless sleep, and the fourth in the case of Viṣṇu, it is his wheel with twelve spokes that is emphasized, because Pisces as the last month completes the twelve spokes.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth transits are respectively in the right channel (of the Sun), the left channel (of the Moon), and the middle channel (of Rāhu). There is this verse in the *Śivasvarodaya* (v. 100)

> During the flow of the Moon, poison is destroyed, during that of the Sun, there is control over the powerful During Suṣumnā, liberation is obtained. One *deva* stands in three forms.

Reverting to the tenth transit, in Capricorn, it is useful to compare this with the sixteenth, "free from time" The yogin in the tenth transit is

proceeding through the intra-uterine states (the ten lunar months) but in extraordinary fashion with the co-natal body (*sahaja-deha*). however, this yogin is not "free from time." Rather, his time is called "inconceivable," as is clear from Tsoṅ-kha-pa's commentary (the *Sbas don*) on the *Cakrasaṃvara-tantra* (PTT Vol. 57, p. 15-1), where he cites a commentary to the effect that there are three kinds of time—good time, bad time, and inconceivable time. When the breath comes in the nostril, that is good time; when it goes out the nostril, that is bad time. When these two are unified (either as holding or withholding the breath), that is the inconceivable time. (Since the embryo does not inhale and exhale, the ten states have inconceivable time). Besides, good time ("coming") is the time of the three joys (*ānanda*, *paramānanda*, and *viramānanda*, cf. *Hevajra-tantra*). Bad time ("going," i.e. emission) is when the mystic drop (*bindu*) is emitted. Avoiding the two times (good and bad), one has the inconceivable time, with the co-natal joy (*sahajānanda*). All that is an explanation of certain initial words of the Tantra, to wit, *ekasmin samaye* ("on a certain occasion"), now to be understood as the inconceivable time. Tsoṅ-kha-pa gives a further explanation, which in our present context means avoiding the thirteenth and fourteenth transits (the channels of the Sun and Moon), and using only the central channel, hence the fifteenth transit (Rāhu's channel), with cultivation of the mystic heat; hence also the inconceivable time. Thus, only the sixteenth transit can be characterized as "free from time."

I close with the Tibetan expression of good wishes,

> / Oṁ bde legs su gyur cig /
> Oṁ. May there be happiness and good fortune!

14

FEMALE ENERGY AND SYMBOLISM IN THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS

Introductory Considerations

The worship of divinity under sexual emblems is very ancient in India, presumably as old as the Mohenjo-daro civilization, which is usually held to be pre-Aryan. The Buddhist Tantras have numerous references to male and female deities, and the latest class of that literature, called the Anuttara-yoga-tantra is pervaded with sexual symbolism. This is true both of the traditional scripture (*āgama*) and the later commentaries. We should know that these works and the associated practices were evolved among peoples who took the spirit world for granted, believed that human beings could develop supernormal powers granted by deities, and assumed that in certain esoteric groups the appropriate procedures for such ends has been handed down from time immemorial.

Since the Tantric literature, Hindu as well as Buddhist, is often abruptly dismissed as unworthy of serious attention we should consider its possible worthiness as a topic of study.[1] There are two preeminent fields in which

[1] In each case I shall give (preceded by "Toh." for "Tohoku University") the catalogue numbers as found in the two catalogues published by Tohoku University the one on the translated canon Hakuju Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yenshō Kanakura, and Tōkan Tada (eds.), *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* (Sendai, Japan, 1934)) having numbers from to 4569 the one on native Tibetan works Yenshō Kanakura, Ryujo Yamada, Tōkan Tada, and Hakuyu Hadano (eds.), *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism* (Sendai, Japan, 1953)) having numbers from 5001 to 7083 Unless otherwise mentioned, all folio number references to the former refer to the Derge edition, and references to the latter refer to Lhasa editions.

intelligence may be focused: the open or public and the closed or private. The conversion involves no necessary alteration. For example, the form of man and the form of woman are two superficial, commonplace aspects that according to the Tantras conceal two more real, heightened consciousness. These two forms are no less worthy than the mundane and to the extent that a society recognizes his worthiness, indeed sacredness, the society is elevated, removed from the brutes. In the same sense the Buddhist Tantras, esoteric as they are, are no more nor less worthy of study than non-Tantric Buddhism. It should be recognized that Tantrism falls in the domain of the esoteric.

The esoteric is a set of two kinds: natural and intentional. In illustration of the first kind, a man may have a great talent which to his distress is unnoticed by the world; it remains hidden, perhaps, through what the Chinese philosophers called *wu*, the principle of things. And the Buddhists claimed that the twelve-fold formula of Dependent Origination is profound and therefore not easily understood. The only solution by systematic difficulty. In illustration of the second kind, there are those numerous government documents stamped "confidential" and "secret." And there are the secrets of the Tantras. In his great commentary on the fundamental Yoga tantra called *Tattvasamgraha*, Ānandagarbha writes: "This secret means dwelling in (or upon) the disk of the full moon; that is secret because it is not proper to be taught to all persons."[2] In addition, some Tantric materials are naturally esoteric.

The present article consults the small number of Buddhist Tantric texts that have been edited in the original Sanskrit. Among the commentaries, originally in Sanskrit, some important passages have been taken from the Tantric authors Saraha, Indrabhūti, Candrakīrti, and Nāgārjuna, as found in the Tibetan translations of their chief works. Moreover, the native Tibetan works are often of substantive value, especially because they integrate the former written traditions of a related canon with the oral precepts of the line of teachers (*guru*). Among these I employ the works of Tsongkha pa (1357–1419), founder of the Gelugpa school, and of his disciple Mkhas grub rje.[3]

The Prajñā

Modern scholars have been somewhat confused on this subject by the female use of the term *śakti* (power) in reference to Buddhist goddesses. This term, general in Hindu Tantras, seldom occurs in the Buddhist Tantras, which actually employ the following generic words for the goddesses: *strī* (female), *mudrā* (sign), *yoginī* (female yogin), *vidyā* (occult science or know-how), *prajñā* (wisdom). In a historic mean-

2. Toh. 2501, the *Tattvasamgraha*, Tanjur, Ci: 128a-3.
3. See n. 1.

ing, including all academic learning); *devī* (goddess) or queen; *mātṛ* (mother); *mātṛkā* (mother of letters); *dūtī* (female messenger); *śakti* (power); and *mudrā* (seal or gesture).

The word *prajñā* is especially important because in both Tantric Buddhism and Chinese Tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism it consists with the term *upāya* (means, approach). A certain Tantric tradition holds that after the fall from Paradise the phase involving division into male and female constituted a separation of means from insight, hence with men were a source of means and women of insight.[4] But the means are various and insight is one; so in one Tantric Buddhism Prajñāpāramitā (the Perfection of Insight) is called "mother of the disciples (*śrāvakas*), self-enlightened ones (*pratyekabuddhas*), and Buddhas, who have diverse fathers or approaches (*upāya*)."[5] This is a sort of mystical polyandry that curiously parallels the well-known Jungian thesis about the man's shadowy anima, his unconscious female, and the woman's shadowy animus, her unconscious maleness, because Jung states: "A passionate encounterness therefore attaches to the man's anima, and an indefinable variety to the woman's animus."[6]

According to Buddhist metaphysical treatises, an element of *prajñā* occurs as one of the momentary ingredients in every idea we have.[7] But as long as human beings (whether male or female) are enveloped in lust, hatred, and delusion, this *prajñā* element can be called "impure."[8] Such is the historically formed condition of *prajñā*. But some persons become monks, restrict their worldly activities, withdraw their grasp upon the world. Becoming in a sense more like women, they alter the environment of *prajñā* and specialize it out, so to speak, until it gains a perfection (*prajñāpāramitā*). What is at issue here is not the obvious, but the subtle: those potentialities of human beings that, in the manner of seeds, hide their natures until nurtured.

These natures, whether of men or women, are fostered, like plants raised in hothouses, when the person withdraws from society. In Jung's

4. A Tibetan account of this view is presented in my "Buddhist Content and the Tantric [illegible] (1962), one of the articles in a forthcoming volume of [illegible] entitled [illegible].

5. See my chapter "Perfection of Insight: Buddhist Tantra Within Mahāyāna Buddhism."

6. *The Basic Writings of C. G. Jung*, ed. Violet S. de Laszlo (New York: Modern Library, [illegible]). [illegible] *The Psychology of Transference*, trans. [illegible] (Paris and Louvain, 1923), pp. 153-54.

7. [illegible] *Prajñā* is not [illegible] corrupted [illegible] the native Tibetan dictionary by Dge-bshes-chos-kyi-grags-pa (Chengdu ed. 1957), p. 283.

language. Isolation by a secret[9] alchemy results as a rule in an accumulation of the psychic atmosphere as compensation for loss of contact with other people. It causes an isolation of the unconscious, and this produces something similar to the illusions and hallucinations that beset lonely wanderers in the desert, seafarers, and saints.[10] The extreme limit of such isolation is illustrated by the experience of Gautama Buddha beneath the Tree of Enlightenment. In traditional accounts of Māra's onslaught we find the future Buddha beset by hosts of demonic beings and tempted by the three daughters of Māra.[11] Somewhat as a tormented sleeper motivates a snake dream, the besieged foundation of human nature objectifies a snake-filled panorama. Gautama is unmoved by this vivid display, he knows it is an illusion. Then the Earth Goddess, Mother of the World, *moves* (shaking literally, earth-quaking) in six different ways the dispersal the hosts of Māra.

This celebrated encounter suggests a number of considerations:

1. Indian symbolism does not necessarily assign to male the active, to female the passive role.

2. The proposition: "All mental objects (dharmah) are an illusion" has one meaning for the ascetic, another for the metaphysician. For the yogin who has developed the intense visualizing power called eidetic imagery (natural to many children when in certain years prior to puberty), the proposition is the rule of mental health. For the metaphysician, unliberated from discursive thinking, the proposition is the basis of an impractical world denial.

3. It is one matter to recognize something as an illusion, another matter to get rid of the thing. This contrast is the topic of a simile in the *Kāśyapa-parivarta-sūtra*, as quoted in Tsong-kha-pa's *Lam-rim chen-mo*: "Kāśyapa, thus for example, when two reeds are rubbed together by the wind, and fire arises from the friction, the fire having arisen burns up the two reeds. In the same way, Kāśyapa, by reason of the most pure discrimination [analyzing mental objects], the power of noble insight (*ārya-prajñā*) is born, and the fire having been born, burns up the most pure discrimination."[12] Elsewhere in the *Lam-rim chen-mo* this "discriminative" (*prajñā* as *upāya*) is treated as a form of *prajñā*. This *prajñā* on the intellectual level, the *prajñā* born from it is of a mystical nature and culminates both discrimination and its object, which by rubbing together during intense concentration have given birth to that *prajñā*. Hence Dayal is not quite

9. C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (Bollingen Series, Vol. XX [New York, 1953]), p. 49.

10. [illegible] The three daughters are looking like women. [illegible] in E. H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha* (Calcutta [illegible]), Part [illegible], p. 80.

11. [illegible] The Sanskrit is not extant in Dutt Nalinaksha's edition of the *Kāśyapa-Parivarta Sūtra*.

[illegible] The two great Mahāyāna schools of Buddhist philo- [illegible] and hence no longer "sees" it.

[illegible]

[illegible] standing.

[illegible] 1932), pp. 236-37.

[illegible] p. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1960), p. 23.

[illegible]

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-72

[illegible] *prajñāpāramitā* together with the means,

[illegible] Series," Vol. LVI (New York, 1958)], p. 262.

[illegible]

edge: "The *kāmamudrā* has beauty and hair as the basis of pleasure in the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*) [illegible] pleasure [illegible] [illegible] The *dharmamudrā* is imagined by one's mind [illegible] the basis of pleasure in the realm of form (*rūpadhātu*) [illegible] involves contact pleasure (*sparśasukha*).[20]

The problem is whether the conversion of Buddhism with Tantric lore giving rise to Buddhist Tantra is consistent with non-Tantric Buddhist traditions. Mr. [illegible] interprets an interpretation of the [illegible] of the practice of woman frequently mentioned in certain Tantric texts. These, with reference to the Tantric concept called [illegible] (*dharma*) [illegible] *kāmadhātu* [illegible] *dharma* [illegible] than there [illegible] We are not denying that some of the Tantric authors may denote a concrete woman by the [illegible] but they would not have been a more appropriate symbol for the inner faculty of *prajñā* than the dissolute outcast.

This woman [illegible] of the *vajra* and for the function had been [illegible] by a woman [illegible] temporarily [illegible] other times. Besides woman is [illegible] where [illegible] [illegible] Hence also [illegible] knowledge whether [illegible] of [illegible]

The [illegible] and poetry as an ingredient of [illegible] [illegible] *prajñā* [illegible] the same *prajñā* [illegible] as discussed as [illegible] and [illegible] spiritual heroes.

[illegible] of the problem of that dissolute woman the Tantras [illegible] power and is represented [illegible] Buddhism [illegible] than he [illegible] whether or not the [illegible] running through [illegible] of the body. And if that woman is the kind of

20. [illegible] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* of Nāgārjuna, Varanasi [illegible] p. 36.
21. Ibidem, Pages p. 36.

[illegible] Gautama Buddha.

The Three Meanings of "I am"

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

not specified here but probably [illegible] the aggregate of knowledge. [illegible] This passage is a commentary on the [illegible] connection down through [illegible] and that announces the main device as well as indicates the [illegible] nature of the correspondence system.

In effect, the Tantric commentaries on the Anuttara yoga tantra literature interpret the language of the base Tantra in two ways: as words having the meanings that they seem to have, and as words having [illegible] assigned meanings, especially when the words are decomposed into syllables. To illustrate, [illegible] has its ordinary meaning of "[illegible]" and has [illegible] each with their arbitrary meanings as assigned in a particular Tantric tradition.

Perhaps the appearance of the letters [illegible] and [illegible] in certain Indian alphabets suggested the use for [illegible] the female and male principles, as is done in the [illegible] tantra. In the following, based on Tsongkhapa's [illegible] tradition, Tsongkhapa [illegible] three meanings of [illegible]: the [illegible] of the fruit to be achieved, the [illegible] of the path of attainment, the [illegible] signifying the path. He goes on to illustrate the three meanings.

[illegible] the second place for teaching the doctrine *dharma*, such as the [illegible] *bhaga* [illegible] organ, the [illegible] the *dharmadhatu* source of natures, the void and compassion. [illegible] is white or the Tantra sets forth as the Teacher, the Vajradhara. He [illegible] who [illegible] the *bhaga* [illegible] and so on. These devices symbolize the inseparable union of the void and compassion.)

2. [illegible] *bhaga* [illegible] *sudhana* [illegible] *kuvarah*. [illegible] means [illegible] great compassion, [illegible] together they constitute the *bindu* (T. *thig le*).

3. [illegible] mother's *bhaga* place, *adhara* [illegible] *bhaga* [illegible]. [illegible] the father's *vajra* (male organ) metaphorically placed *adhara*. Therein

24. Tsongkhapa, [illegible] Tantra, Rgyud Rnam [illegible]. The author [illegible]

[illegible]

3. Tsongkhapa, Collected Works, Vol. [illegible], Mathura print, 149b-3.

[illegible] of the three.

[illegible]

2. [illegible]

[illegible] of the mudra.

[illegible]

---

[26] [illegible]

[27] [illegible]

with the shape of the [illegible] When Mkhas grub rje describes [illegible] on the [illegible] emphasis on four [illegible] for the Tantric manipulation of the "winds":

> The [illegible] of the navel with triangular shape face upward; the [illegible] of the heart [illegible] shape face downward; and [illegible] The [illegible] of the neck [illegible] face upward; [illegible] head [illegible] shape [illegible] and face downward. The [illegible] petals of the [illegible] and [illegible] form the support [illegible] and perception, they are explained to be the 120 chief "veins."[29]

We can appreciate these symbols somewhat better by noticing what [illegible] of [illegible] the shape of the [illegible] and the [illegible] The neck [illegible] shapes different than in the [illegible] and the [illegible] there are [illegible] and [illegible] Hence [illegible] are [illegible]

[illegible] added [illegible] the Hindu [illegible] and [illegible] Manipura [illegible] and [illegible] The fundamental

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[29] Mkhas grub (op. cit.), 64a.

[30] [illegible]

[31] [illegible]

[illegible] quoted and explained in the Sngags rim, 436b.

group of four cakras of the Buddhist Tantras therefore corresponds to the [illegible] Anāhata and Maṇipura cakras of the Hindu system, although there are some differences in the respective descriptions. The cakra of the head, sometimes called the *Mahāsukha* cakra, thus corresponds to the Hindu Ājñā cakra in the head between the eyebrows, hence in the point of the *uṣṇīṣa* [illegible] of the main characteristics of the Buddha. It is important to observe that in the Hindu Tantras such a cakra shows the goddess Kundalinī, who has slumbering in her coils [illegible] the liberated soul, whereas the equivalent goddess in the Buddhist Tantric system, [illegible] Caṇḍālī, [illegible] the naked [illegible].

It may be noted that while the *Hevajra* subdivisions above cited set forth six basic goddesses for the first six cakras, [illegible] the basic Tantra of the *Hevajra* gives only [illegible] goddesses. Locanā and so on, [illegible]. This [illegible] with [illegible] which has an Explanatory Tantra [illegible] Questions of the Four Goddesses, and a Tantra the [illegible] on the [illegible] we learn that a chapter is devoted to the questions of each goddess, Locanā, and so on, in the same manner and same order as above.[34]

The principle in the system of four cakras for physiological manipulation in [illegible] goes back to the [illegible] the four states of consciousness. The *Brahmajāla* and [illegible] the Sanskrit Upaniṣads [illegible] than the early Upaniṣads but preceding the Tantras. Here [illegible] as we now have [illegible] the Pāṭaliputra [illegible] the four states of consciousness [illegible] waking state, the state of sleep, the state of dreaming, the state of deep sleep, the heart, and the cosmic Tantra in the head. The agreement from the pāli [illegible]

> When one has gone to sleep, there is both dream and absence of dream. At the time of deep sleep without dream, he sets and rest elements of the Nāḍīs, which [illegible] the heart. At the time of dreaming, those two elements stay in the neck, as mind is here in the neck. At the time when one is not sleeping, he stays at the navel, as mind is here. Where the male and female unite, those two stay in the head.[35]

This passage shows a belief that the orgasm or climax of ordinary coitus

33. Snellgrove (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, 49, or II, 4.
34. [illegible] Vol. I.a. *Hevajra*
35. Eliade, *Yoga*, p. [illegible]
36. Tsongkhapa, *Collected Works*, Vol. Cha, *Tsa-chen*, folio 1 ff.

37 *Mithah gcod* (*op. cit.*), 490-2.
38 Eliade, *Yoga*, p. 137

[illegible]

thinking is basic to the Tantras.

[illegible]

the twelve transits.[43]

[illegible]

[illegible]

41. *Brtag bzhel*, *op. cit.*, 47a-5. [illegible]
42. *Bzlu par*, *op. cit.*, 32b-2.
43. [illegible]

[illegible]

more of his works.[44]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

44. *Ibid.*, 61a-2, 2.

[illegible]

[illegible]

tabular form (Table 4).

[illegible]

49 *Ibid.* folios 70-71

[illegible]

52 *Ribor bzlas, op. cit.*, 5.b.

[illegible]

present understanding.

TABLE 14

BASIC TIME CORRESPONDENCES

MIDDLE VEIN	LEFT VEIN	RIGHT VEIN
Oṃ	*Āḥ*	*Hūṃ*
Mind	Speech	Body
Androgyne	Prajñā	Upāya
Tamas	*Rajas*	*Sattva*

FRUITIONAL TIME CORRESPONDENCES

LEFT	RIGHT	MIDDLE
Oṃ	*Āḥ*	*Hūṃ*
Body	Speech	Mind
Prajñā, form of woman	Upāya, form of man	Form of Androgyne
Tamas	*Rajas*	*Sattva*

sequence *Oṃ, Āḥ, Hūṃ* (Androgyne, Prajñā, and Upāya) is shown in part in Mkhas grub rje's great commentary (*Ṭīk chen*) on the *Kālacakra-tantra*:

> During the first five (lunar) months of the womb, developing the five personality aggregates and the five elements, under the power of *tamas*, in the state of dreamless sleep which has no manifestation of discursive thought (*vikalpa*), there is the *bodhicitta* of the Jina (i.e., the Bhagavat) which is the diamond (*vajra*) Dharmakāya. During the sixth and seventh, under the power of *rajas*, experiencing "objects" (*viṣaya*) like a dream, in the state of dream there is the Sambhoga-kāya. Then, from the beginning of the eighth month up to birth, under the power of *sattva*, in the waking state, there is the Nirmāṇa-kāya.[54]

Now, various Buddhist Tantric texts identify the four basic *cakras* (cf. our preceding section) with the Buddha bodies, that is, the *nirmāṇa-cakra* is at the navel, the *dharma-cakra* at the heart, the *sambhoga-cakra* at the neck, and the *mahāsukha-cakra* at the head.[55] Combining this information with the data in Mkhas grub rje's passage, we see that the heart *cakra* with eight "veins" develops first, the neck *cakra* with sixteen "veins" develops second, inferentially the forehead *cakra* with thirty-two "veins" and the navel *cakra* with sixty-four "veins" develop last. The inference requires the

54. Toh. 5463, *Collected Works*, Vol. Ga, *Ṭīk chen*, Nati le. 8a-6 ff. For some further information on what develops during those ten months, see my "Studies in Yama and Māra," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, II, 4 (1959), 70-72.

55. For example, Snellgrove (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, 49.

[illegible] to be associated with the head and navel. As a matter of fact [illegible]

[illegible] "The Groups of Four and Five."

Passing now to [illegible] correspondences [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Snellgrove (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, 50

[illegible] *Upaniṣad* (II, [illegible])

[illegible] (54a-4 ff.).

so now we can understand better Nāgārjuna's set of moon, sun, and fire. In fact, the *Om* corresponds to the first of the three Lights and hence assumes the preceding appearances of mirage, smoke, and fireflies.[61] Let us proceed to the table of fructional time correspondences (Table 15), of which several lines were already given.

TABLE 15

THE GREAT TOME

OṂ	ĀḤ	HŪṂ
Prajñā, the form of woman	Upāya, the form of man	Androgyne
8-petalled lotus	5-pronged thunderbolt	
Moonlight	Sunlight	Fire
Night	Day	Juncture of day and night
Left	Right	Middle
Waking	Dream	Dreamless sleep
Void	Further Void	Great Void
Light	Spread of Light	Culmination of light
Body	Speech	Mind
Vairocana	Amitābha	Akṣobhya
Birth	Intermediate State	Death
Nirmāṇakāya	Saṃbhogakāya	Dharmakāya
Tamas	*Rajas*	*Sattva*
Head	Neck	Heart
Inspiration	Retention	Expiration

However, the Fire listed under *Hūṃ* probably means here "the fire of time" (*kālāgni*), that is, the fire superior to time, because it puts an end to the cosmic eon and hence brings even Great Time to an end, ushering in the Clear Light, the Fourth Void, from which the other three evolve, whereas the dragon Rāhu in basic time only temporarily eclipses the sun and moon. It is of interest that the set of moon, sun, and fire is also found in the Hindu Tantras.[62]

Our chief intention is to expose the female symbolism, but it is possible to do this only within a larger framework of symbolism. In basic time, Speech is female—a bit of symbolism prominent in Indo-European mythology—and in fructional time, Speech is male. In the former time, Body is male, in the latter time, Body is female. In both times Mind is androgyne or neutral. The correspondences in basic time exactly agree with the genders of the Sanskrit nouns *vāc*, feminine (speech), *kāya* masculine (body), and *citta*, neuter (mind). An alternate word for mind, *manas*, is also neuter. We note that the correspondences of sun and moon to *prajñā*

61 *Mikuḥ gcoḥ*, *op. cit.*, 51a.
62 Eliade, *Yoga*, 238.

[illegible]

64. E.g., in his *Ye rabbi*, op. cit., 176-4 ff.

The Groups of Four and Five

A [illegible]

> [illegible] to Amoghasiddhi's.[65]

The four terms [illegible]

---

[65] [illegible]

[66] [illegible]

> The object to be summoned [illegible] the god maṇḍala [illegible] (i.e. the [illegible] god maṇḍala [illegible] the [illegible] of human maṇḍala: Padminī, Śaṅkhinī, Hastinī, and Mṛgī. Then on all [illegible] of earth are summoned from everywhere. The first is summoned from above the earth; the second, from beneath the earth; the third, from upon the earth.[77]

Thus she goes [illegible] following a tradition more consistent, literally speaking, than [illegible] with the Hindu meaning of [illegible] terms [illegible] also places the gods above earth, man on earth, and the demigods (asura or daitya) beneath earth.[78]

Whatever the meaning of the classification into Padminī and so on, the fourfold group lends itself [illegible] the [illegible] group [illegible] [illegible] are [illegible] arranged in a square, implying a center [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible]. [illegible] the group headed by Padminī [illegible] be equated with the fivefold group headed by the [illegible]. If [illegible] were [illegible] squared [illegible] the group of five would be [illegible] directions and the [illegible] the group of four in the intermediate directions.

The one in the center depends on the correspondence [illegible]. Thus the correspondence to space [illegible] among [illegible] knowledge of the Dharma Realm (*dharmadhātu-jñāna*) among the five knowledges [illegible]. When [illegible] as the [illegible] Buddha [illegible] the [illegible] maṇḍala [illegible] set of correspondences is regarded as [illegible] problem.

The fourfold group [illegible] represents the structure of [illegible] as [illegible] in the preceding section [illegible] suggestion. [illegible] and [illegible] egg [illegible] the side of [illegible] and [illegible] the side of [illegible] egg [illegible] of the four elements [illegible] with Hindu systems [illegible] the five elements [illegible] group [illegible] both groups [illegible] and [illegible] of becoming. [illegible]

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[77] [illegible] op. cit., 4 [illegible].

[78] [illegible] Tanjur [illegible]

[79] Cf. [illegible] in the Buddhist Tantras, Table [illegible], and discussion, with

Space is not made in the pure-eye sense, and the three personality aggregates are just *bhūta*.[72]

The four-armed mandala is used for the crowned palace (*kūtāgāra*) described as having a single crossbeam (*ekāyata*) and as follows in a verse: Having four corners that are ornamented with four pillars as well as four beams that are resplendent with nymphs (*apsaras*) and with garlands and other decorations.[73]

Already in the biographies of the Buddha called the *Lalitavistara* one finds the great shrine of the Tree of Enlightenment. The ornamented essence of Enlightenment (*bodhimanda*) is therefore distinguished by four dimensions of enlightenment (*bodhidharma*) as the paradise tree (*pārijāta*) in heaven.[74] The Tibetan translation interprets *bodhidharma* as "goddesses of the Tree of Enlightenment." According to Jackson in *A Guide to Buddhist Iconography*, *Hevajra Mandala*, the Pārijāta kept in Indra's heaven is the symbol of the Buddha's enlightenment. Also, the four daughters of Sakra (Indra) are the consort of the Buddha and these are four goddesses (*dākinī*) of the four directions. The word *mandala* itself contains the meaning for "tree" (*vṛkṣa*) especially shows that the tree represents the center of Abhisaṃbodhi.

Tantra state the use of goddesses in both cardinal and intermediate directions, as in the refer to the Mandala of the Diamond Realm (*vajradhātu-mandala*). The Indo-Tibetan use of the mandala is interpreted in the Yoga-tantra texts are one and the same. The Shingon Japanese Tantric school, which is a high-complex mandala that is one of the two main orders of the Shingon sect of Japanese Buddhism. There are four female deities holding [illegible] the four corners (*gandhabhiṣeka*) who are located at the four cardinal directions, which east, southwest, northwest, and north, and called respectively Wanton Mirth (Lāsyā), Garland, Mālā, Song (Gītā), and Dance (Nṛtyā). A number are of the Yoga tantra class, which [illegible] the very mandala [illegible] these four the secret goddesses [illegible] the [illegible]. According to the mandala text, they

72. [illegible] 4361 (*dharmasaṃgraha*, no author catalogued), Taisho Shin Tripitaka, No. 1[illegible]a-6, 7.

73. *Sādhana-mālā*, No. 239, text 439-11.

74. Lefmann edition, p. 28

[illegible] *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*, Kanjur Mdo-sde, Vol. [illegible], 1[illegible]

[illegible] Paris 1[illegible] of Mahāyāna [illegible] Ang Sa-rgyas [illegible] Ang Sa-rgyas [illegible] and "splendor").

[illegible] *Mahāyānasūtra-saṃgraha* of *Maitreyanātha* [illegible]

[illegible] Tokyo 1902, Tanjur Bstan-ḥgyur, Vol. [illegible] 23a-5

belong, respectively, to the Buddha families, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi. Of a different type are the four goddesses on petals of the first circle of the same *maṇḍala*, who are located in the cardinal directions starting with east: Sattvavajrī ('Diamond of Sentient Being'), Ratnavajrī ('Diamond of Jewels'), Dharmavajrī ('Diamond of the Law'), Karmavajrī ('Diamond of Ritual Acts'). The fact states that they belong respectively to the same four Buddha families as do the other fourfold group. In the present case, however, three of the names directly show this relationship: Ratna is a standard name of the Ratnasambhava family, and Karma of the Amoghasiddhi family. Dharma in the sense of enunciation of the doctrinal syllables is usually correlated with Amitābha in this literature. Hence these four represent a definite female essence of family, and their names could not have been formulated until after the theory of the five Buddhas (the four now in point and Vairocana) had arisen.

Since the text already relates the two fourfold groups by means of four Buddha families, it is feasible to relate the individual entities under headings as follows:

BUDDHA FAMILY	ABSTRACT GODDESS	SENSUOUS GODDESS
Akṣobhya	Diamond of Sentient Being	Wanton Movement
Ratnasambhava	Diamond of Jewels	Garland
Amitābha	Diamond of the Law	Song
Amoghasiddhi	Diamond of Ritual Acts	Dance

In the Anuttara-tantra terminology, since the fourfold group beginning with Padmini and the fivefold group beginning with the butcher maiden seem both to refer to types of concrete women, we may theorize for want of noticing in the texts an explanation which may be restricted to oral precepts, that the former group refers to the concrete 'femaleness' going with four of the latter group, all five of which are identified with the Mothers or the *yoginīs* of the five Buddha families. This would involve an interpretation of this texts are which the present writer feels is consistent both with Hindu *Śāstra* usage and the general tenor of the Anuttara-tantras, namely that what the world considers to be the signs and characteristics of femaleness is in fact the phenomenalization of the Mothers of the Tantric families and hence falls into distinct types. Of course, similar statements could be made for the signs of maleness. Such ideas are consistent with the world outlook prevalent in the old Vedic period when different deities were in charge of the departments of nature, and with the later Indian astrological texts which identify the various parts of the body with the twelve zodiacal signs or with the nine planets. The Tantric formulations simply carry out the identification by classifying under one or

another of the Buddha families, all things are [illegible] of Buddha [illegible] and [illegible] may be a [illegible] preparation for [illegible] the Great Time.

The [illegible] great factors of becoming [illegible] are identified with goddesses [illegible] [illegible] Māmakī [illegible] Pāṇḍarā [illegible] These [illegible] elements [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Māmakī [illegible] and [illegible] Tantric passage on the four bases of magical power [illegible]

> The [illegible] regarding the four bases of magical power [illegible]
>
> [illegible] with the force of magical power among the [illegible] of

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79. Guhyasamājatantra, chap. xii, p. 137.
[illegible] p. 39
[illegible] likewise with the others.
82. Cf. Table 2, and note thereto, this work.

the body equipped with the four mandalas [of the "factors of becoming"].[83]

However, as was pointed out in the section "The Three Meanings of *Lam*," the order Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, and Tārā (from navel) represents an association with the areas of navel, heart, neck, and head. As compared with the preceding correspondences, this moves up counts from the secret region to the navel and Tārā from the navel to the head. The session "The Female, Male, and Androgyne" touches upon the mysterious communication between the navel and the head which may explain this shift of Tārā's position.

Moreover, one finds some difference in relating these "Mothers" to Buddha families in the Ārya school of the Guhyasamāja, the *Anuttaratantra*, and in the *Hevajra tantra*.[84] The association of the green Tārā, also called Samaya-tārā, with Amoghasiddhi is standard. The next most frequent agreement is that Pāṇḍarā, or the white-dressed red Tārā, goes with Amitābha. However, the Māmakī and Locanā associations differ considerably. The reason is that the correspondence of four goddesses to five Buddhas always leaves out one Buddha. This is the chief Buddha of the particular Tantra, and this Buddha is placed in the center where one has a "squared circle." The corresponding realm is space or ether (ākāśa), which Lvā va pa equates with the "Diamond Sow" (Vajravārāhī),[85] who is also called "Queen of the Diamond Realm" (Vajradhātvīśvarī) and "Fury of Divine Knowledge" (Jñānḍākinī).[86] In mandala representation of the Buddha period, the central Buddha is usually Vairocana or Akṣobhya, and this particular emphasis causes one or more of the "Mothers" to be assigned an association apparently inconsistent with other Tantras.

The goddesses as "great factors of becoming" are regarded as multiplying factors of the Lord's winds, the male aspects of the elements. Thus Tārā's pa ṭa is [illegible], Pāṇḍarā's and so on; the wind of the Lotus Lord (i.e., Amitābha) is doubled by 224 winds, each of fiery Pāṇḍarā of fire, windy Tārā of fire, earthy Locanā of fire, and watery

83 Tab. 45: [illegible] Rāgavā Rāgvā, Vol. Cha, [illegible]. For one [illegible] Tab. [illegible] Rāgvā, Vol. [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible].

84 For the [illegible] Ārya school, the correspondences are in Mādhavānala's commentary [illegible] p. 45; [illegible] For the Hevajra [illegible] Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. [illegible]. For the Hevajra of Saraḥpa, see op. cit., [illegible].

85 In his podcast, op. cit., Ba. Gabo, 43.

86 Bhattacharyya, op. cit., Sanskrit text, p. 79.

Māmakī of fire, and the same goes for the other three [Lord winds]. This amounts to twenty-four divisions of 'watches' according to the *Amnāya-mañjarī*."[87] Hence there is the fiery Pāṇḍarā of fire, of wind, of water, and of earth. As each of the four goddesses regularly rotate as consorts of each of the Buddhas in the aspects of the winds or purity of elements, it seems a matter of convention for a certain Tantra to associate one of these goddesses with a certain Buddha as though it were always the case. Nevertheless, in the phase when a goddess is involved with the particular Buddha of her own element, when, for example, Pāṇḍarā goes with Amitābha, this appears to be a special case of juncture.

The Three Grades

The cited passage of the Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma mentions three varieties for each of those four kinds of females, Padmini and so on. This type of language is found in the "Mother Tantras," of which the most important is the *Śrīcakrasaṃvara-tantra* and associated literature. When that passage speaks of the illusory body as well as the Goal and Symbolic Clear Lights, it is employing terminology found especially in the "Father Tantras," of which the most important is the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and associated literature. Because the passage incorporates materials derived from those two major classes, it becomes possible to clarify the meaning somewhat by using both commentarial traditions. It will perhaps be a modest step toward this understanding to demonstrate the following equivalences in alternate terminology of the two great divisions of the Anuttara-yoga-tantra.

GRADE	MOTHER TANTRA LANGUAGE	FATHER TANTRA LANGUAGE
Highest	Together-born female	Mother
Intermediate	Field-born female	Sister
Lowest	Incantation-born female	Daughter

Thus Indrabhūti is following "Mother Tantra" tradition when he writes: "The location is the circle of 'women,' namely together-born, field-born, incantation-born, and the butcher maiden, she of great power, the dancer maiden, the washerman maiden and so on."[88] In his commentary on the third chapter of the *Sampuṭa* he says: "In regard to the passage, 'All women . . . ,' all women means all the goddesses. They are the illusory goddesses field-born, incantation-born, and together-born,

87. *Shags rim*, 442a-3, 4.
88. The *Ratnacakrābhiṣekopadeśakrama*, *op. cit.*, ZI, 147b-1

the yoginis located in the locations and secondary locations."[89] Tsoṅ-kha-pa quotes Lva-va-pa: "Highest is the together-born female, middling is the field-born female, lowest is the incantation-born female."[90] Accordingly Tsoṅ-kha-pa writes: "Then, having taken recourse to the power of the incantation-born, one moreover achieves the assembling of the field-born ones; taking recourse to the latter, one is able to exhort the together-born and make the latter the consort."[91]

Furthermore, these goddesses called "messengers" (*dūtī*) are held to grant occult powers, as the same writer comments: "The passage 'Occult power (*siddhi*) is speedily produced' means that the speedy production of the occult power is attained by taking recourse to the 'messenger'."[92] Tsoṅ-kha-pa goes on to compare the female messenger with the sharp edge of a sword. To take proper recourse to either object one must be fearless. In the case of the *dūtī* one would then achieve the *siddhi*. However: "If there is a fault in the recourse, one achieves not the benefit but rather no end of great troubles."[93]

Now let us turn to the "Father Tantra" *Guhyasamāja*:

> The adept who carnally loves the "mother," "sister," and "daughter"—
> Achieves the extensive *siddhi*, at the true nature of the Mahāyāna summit.[94]

The tantric Candrakīrti comments on this by citing an unnamed *āgama*, in fact an Explanatory Tantra of the *Guhyasamāja* cycle, which relates these three grades of women to the graded Buddha bodies:

> He should love by the non-dual *yoga* of thusness the Prajñā-woman, who is the Perfection of insight, called "devoid of intrinsic nature," the "Mother" identical to the Dharmakāya.
> He, equipped with the *yoga* of his own presiding divinity, should love just that one referred to as "sister" engendered equal to the Sambhogakāya. But by this incantation body, he performer should contemplate that "daughter" with the form of the Nirmāṇa (kāya).
> The yogin of this kind, loving the "mother," "sister," "daughter,"

89. Toh. 197: *Śrīsampuṭatilaka-nāma-yoginītantrarāja-ṭīkā-dam-pa-rinpoche-mchhoḥ-nāma*, Tanjur, Rgyud, Ca, 152b-2.
90. *Shes don*, op. cit., 145b-1.
91. Toh. 5320, *Collected Works*, Vol. Ta, *Rdzogs-rim*, 32a-6.
92. *Shes don*, op. cit., 136b-4.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Chap. v, p. 20.

> [illegible] the extremes which [illegible] the supreme dharma nature of Mahāyāna.[95]

[illegible]

points than it has solved

[illegible]

[illegible] Lessing and Alex Wayman (1968).

99. *Śrīmālā*, 418b.

100. *Ibid.*, 406b

101. As discussed in [illegible] "Studies in Yoga and Mara," *op. cit.*, p. 120

foundation one proceeds to the *Cittavajrasaṃādhi-krama*, namely to visualization of the mental substance (*cittavajra*) as the three light stages or three voids, the arcane mind. The arcane body or illusory body consisting of the winds and that mental substance in the form of the *Sukhābhiṣeka-krama* (stage of personal blessing). Situated in the illusory body (*māyādeha*) (*māyādeha-samādhi*) one enters the Clear Light with the illusory body by means of the two simultaneous meditations called contraction (*piṇḍagrahe*) and expansion (*samādhirāja*), described in the *Abhisaṃbodhi-krama*. The *Yuganaddha-krama* then describes the non-dual knowledge of a Manifest Complete Buddha who proceeds downward through the three light stages in a manner that carries off the three bodies.[182] For this the Tantras speak of a Fourth Initiation yielding the maturation for the fruitional attainment of the three bodies, while the previous three initiations make this possible for those bodies. Hence we can add further correspondences to Table 2 by placing under *One* the initiations of the flask as well as the "daughter" under *Ah* the secret initiation as well as the "sister" under *Hum* the insight knowledge initiation as well as the "mother". But what is the meaning of the "carnal love" for those three classes of "women"? They must be separately discussed.

1. *The secretion-born female*. She is called a *vajrā* and is evoked by a *vajrā-dhāraṇī*. The male deity can be called a *mantra* and the mantra-son evoking him is called a *mantra-dhāraṇī*.[183] Lvo-va-pa, when speaking of the five initiations of the flask, says:

> Those five initiations which have the nature of the five Tathāgatas (i.e. Buddhas) are also referred to by the expression "wisdom initiation" (*ye-śes-kyi dbaṅ*) because they accomplish the five "wisdom knowledges" (*ye-śes-lṅa*) whose natures are the transmutation of the five impurities (*skandhas*) and because rivers are the initiation is conferred by the *vajrā* goddess, Buddhalocanā and so on.[184]

The meaning of this last remark is clarified in Mkhas grub rje's treatment of the initiations of the flask. He states that when the hierophant (*vajrācārya*) sprinkles the disciple with the diamond water (*vajra-udaka*) of the Victorious Flask (*jaya-kalaśa*) it is imagined that in reality the *vajrās*, Locanā and so on, hold the flask and pour the initiatory water.[185]

182. This summary of the *Paramādi-nama* is based on the commentarial writing entitled of Tson-kha-pa's *Snag-rim*, esp. 405a, where he quotes and discusses these verses of the *Paramādi-nama*, 4.4.

183. This is shown in my previous treatment (Chap. 7) pp. 7. The Meaning of "Initiation."

184. Tsoṅ, 1444: [illegible] *Tantra Rājā*. Wa[illegible] passage begins at p. 415.

185. In *Mkhas grub rje's*; see n. 98 above.

Furthermore, [illegible] such as Locanā can be identified with the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Of course, [illegible] they are not concrete.

2. *The field-born yoginis.* The expression "field-born" refers first of all to those [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Of [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] is supreme,
Just here the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] 137a-2.

[illegible]

[illegible] I, 66-70, and his annotations.

[illegible]

[illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] knowledge and [illegible]

The expression "three knowledges" means the three lights, Light, Spread of Light, and Culmination of Light, constituting the arcane mind.

3. *The together-born female.* Candrakīrti in his commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* cites this verse about her:

> The great goddess located in the heart,
> Causing the yogin's *yoga*—
> The Mother of all the Buddhas—
> Is called Vajradhātvīśvarī (Queen of the Diamond Realm).[11]

As the incantation-born female yielded a predominance of void, the field-born female a predominance of pleasure, so now the together-born female yields the experience of pleasure-void (*sukha-śūnya*) in equal measure. This pleasure-void involves a sequence of four joys (*ānandas*), produced by the melted white element in the central channel of the body.

The carnal love for these respective females who initiate the male called the *yogin* takes four forms, in accordance with the initiation, as Snellgrove translates. The first is represented by a smile, the second by a gaze, the third in an embrace, and the fourth in union.[12] The *yogin* smiles at the "daughter," gazes at the "sister," embraces the "mother," unites with the latter in the Clear Light, and must stay united upon emerging from the Clear Light and proceeding through the three light stages in the reverse order so as to hold onto the three bodies of the Buddha associated with those three stages. The wife was a daughter, a sister, and a mother.

Their Ages

The many textual references to these goddesses in terms of their ages are not particularly calculated to give assurance regarding their true nature. Especially is this the case with the most complete list of ages noticed by the present writer. Saraha associates five ambrosias (*amṛta*) with *prajñā* of five different ages. The first kind issues from the eye of the eight-year-old Kumārī. The second, from the hollow vein (*rasa khoṅ ṭoṅ*) of the twelve-year-old Śaṅkhā. The third, from the union with the sixteen-year-old one who flowers (*puṣpavatī*), woman with menses, called Siddhā. The fourth, from the union with the twenty-year-old one who has menses for the first time, called *Bālikā. The fifth is the "menses (*khu ba*, perhaps corruption of *khraṅ*, "blood") of *prajñā*, the semen of *upāya*, or the burnt fat of

11. *Pradīpoddyotana*, *op. cit.*, Ha, 56a.? The translation follows my *Yoga of the Guhyasamāja-tantra*.

12. Snellgrove, *op. cit.*, I, 95-96.

prajñā, whichever be the case, of the twenty-five-year-old one, named *Bhadrakapālin (bhad brahs can ma)*.[113]

Besides the maiden, these texts also speak of a lad. Thus the *Guhyasamāja* has a verse about the maiden aged twelve and the lad aged twelve.[114] The same work has a verse:

> When he sees the delightful daughter of the gods replete
> with all ornaments, the lad [or] the maiden,
> He gains the occult power (*siddhi*).[115]

Candrakīrti explains that he, the yogin, attains the mundane occult powers (*laukika-siddhi*),[116] usually eight in number. This is indeed a "fairy tale." Jung might have explained that masculine consciousness has come face to face with its feminine counterpart, the anima.[117] The material of our preceding section suggests that the yogin now sees a "sister" or "brother."

It will help our control of the data to organize it into classes of meaning, whether concrete or figurative, already illustrated in an earlier section by the interpretation of the sixteen-year-old girl as the sixteen voids. But it is doubtful that such organization of textual data can yield a native understanding that one has through having been born and reared in a country whose usages are commonplace and subconsciously noticed, while starting to the foreigner. The usual way to be a native in this case is to have gone through it all.

A. Ages of the Yoginīs Belonging to Buddha Families

Bhavyakīrti writes: "Among them, the butcher maiden, aged twelve, is the *mudrā* belonging to the yogin of Akṣobhya's family. The washerman maiden, aged twenty, is the *mudrā* belonging to the yogin of Vairocana's family. The dancer maiden, aged sixteen, is the *mudrā* belonging to the yogin of Amitābha's family. . . ."[118] The passage by the Kon-sdol bla-ma earlier cited contains such expressions as "butcher maiden." We may assume that either the necklace-stringer maiden or the artisan maiden,

113 The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, op. cit., n. 66; Ha, 29a. If in this passage the name of the twelve-year-old girl is written *sa-ldan*, as in Tok, 165d, Abhayākaragupta's *Śrī-Buddhakapālamahātantrānusāriṇī-nāma-vṛtti* (Ha, 90a-5) the name is transcribed *sa-ldan-ma*; Ha, 145a-6, transcribed *sa-ldan*.

114 Chap. xv, pp. 100-101.

115 Chap. xv, p. 100.

116 *Pradīpoddyotana*, op. cit., Ha, 154a-2-3.

117 Yousef S. de Laszlo, ed., *Psyche and Symbol: A Selection from the Writings of C. G. Jung* (Anchor Orig.; New York: 1958), p. 96, in Jung's essay "The Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairy Tales."

118 Tok, 293; *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa-sañcayagāthā-nāma-vṛtti*, Tanjur, Rgyud, Khi, 41b-6, 7.

or both is more than twenty years old. Sarvaka's list has a lower age of eight and a higher one of twenty-five.

However, Candrakīrti's commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* which is followed by Tsongkhapa does not entirely agree with this rubric. Where Candrakīrti comments on a verse of the *Guhyasamāja* [illegible] the [illegible] maiden he says: "The practitioner [illegible] the age of [illegible] years, together with the middle aged [illegible] years." Here, he models [illegible] Candrakīrti agrees that the butcher maiden is aged [illegible] but when he comments on a [illegible] verse [illegible] about the lamp maiden, he does not mention the latter's age.[119] Candrakīrti's position, however, as he did give ages, and Tsongkhapa's as well, is consistent with the idea of mandalas in the *Vajrasamāja* series. According to Tsongkhapa, "The [illegible] series [illegible] the mandalas of mind, body, and speech in the order have [illegible] Vajrāsana and Vajrāgra." This [illegible] not [illegible] the place in that series. Thus, chapter [illegible] shows that the mandala of mind [illegible] which normally is associated with Akṣobhya, has [illegible] Vajrāsana; chapter [illegible] shows that the mandala of body, associated with Vairocana, has sixteen [illegible] and that the mandala of speech, associated with Amitābha, [illegible] Vajrāgra. The [illegible] mandalas [illegible] are [illegible] the [illegible] series [illegible] Vajrāsana [illegible] corresponding with Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi, respectively.[122]

B. The number of years to the maximal power ("Buddha")

According to Mithas grub rgya, Gautam scholars say that if the body wears at the end of sixteen years, the [illegible] and that [illegible] the body is [illegible] the [illegible] body [illegible]. This is experts [illegible] agree [illegible] generated [illegible] the end of [illegible] years [illegible] the father [illegible] pleasure experienced [illegible] the phase of the [illegible]. At the end of sixteen years a man pleasures his [illegible]. At the end of twelve years a woman pleasures her husband.[123] This [illegible] refers [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the body. The white element is the [illegible] element, and the phase of [illegible] corresponds to dreamless sleep and to death in the correspondences in Table 5.

119. *Pradīpoddyotana*, op. cit., Ha, 173b-4
120. *Ibid.*, Ha, 34a-5 and Ha, 137a-6
121. *Sādhanamālā*, 160a-2
122. Cf. Table 2, this work
[illegible]
124. The *Saṃpuṭatantra* [illegible] op. cit., Ca, [illegible]

In partial agreement, Candrakīrti quotes this verse, from an Explanatory Tantra of the *Guhyasamāja* cycle:

> The peace abiding in the unborn, whose name would be 16-yeared by differentiation of time starting with a moment, is determined as the "lady" (*yoṣit*).[125]

During his exposition of the secret initiation, Tsoṅ-kha-pa cites this from the *Mahāmudrātilaka*:

> If one does not obtain a twelve-yeared, or sixteen-yeared female, adorned with good features, long eyes, attractive figure and youth, then a twenty yeared one is proper.
> Other "seals" (*mudrā*) above twenty put the occult power far off.
> One should offer his sister, daughter, or wife to the "master" (*guru*).[126]

Tsoṅ-kha-pa is concerned in this context with the method of the secret initiation and does not stop to explain the symbolism of the ages. Since the symbol is multi-valued, the present writer may be spoiling it by presenting a one-valued interpretation, namely, that it means the number of years elapsed when *siddhi* is attained since someone turned his back on worldly affairs to practice yoga—an event as memorable to him as is the marriage contract to worldly persons. But the fact that "seals" over twenty put the *siddhi* far off does lend weight to our interpretation. Concerning the "master," there are both inner and outer kinds.[127]

The problem still remains of why the numbers increase by fours, starting from age eight in Saraha's list, and so continuing to age twenty, then jumping over twenty-four to twenty-five. There seems to be involved an idea that the *yogin* can attain the goal in certain definite numbers of years.

C. The vowels and voidnesses

Previously we have referred to Jñānākara's interpretation of the sixteen-year-old girl as the sixteen voids. The sixteen Sanskrit vowels are identified with the sixteen voidnesses in the *Śrī-Rāgarāja-tantrarāja*:

> A is the voidness of inner and outer. Ā is the voidness of voidness, I is great voidness, Ī is the voidness of ultimate reality, U is the voidness of constructed things, Ū is the voidness of the un-

125. *Pradīpoddyotana*, op. cit. Hū, 34a-2. The translation follows my *Yoga of the Guhyasamāja-tantra*, where the original Sanskrit is given.
126. *Snags rim*, 281a-4.
127. See my chapter "Divinity according to the Buddhist Tantras."

constructed. [illegible] is the voidness of the limitless, [illegible] is the voidness of the beginningless and endless, [illegible] is the voidness of the undesirable, [illegible] is the voidness of all [illegible] nature, [illegible] is the voidness of all natures, [illegible] is the voidness of [illegible] characteristics, [illegible] is the voidness of the unobserved, [illegible] is the voidness of the non-existent, [illegible] is the voidness of intrinsic nature, [illegible] is the voidness of the intrinsic nature of the non-existent.[28]

This Tantra continues. The word [illegible] *Andrews* of the Sambhogakāya at [illegible] the place is [illegible] the *prajnā* is the sixteen vowel series.[29] Also, Chandhāra[30] writes: "At the left side of the yogin is the *prajnā* vowelled sixteen."[31]

Tsongkhapa cites an unnamed *āgama* as it was quoted in a Tantric commentary, which mentions the sixteen spots of the body where one contemplates the sixteen vowels, starting with A at the base of the thumb. In the same context, he also has one disposes the sixteen letters on the right side of the body. Further, and again, on the left side, or *prajnā*, the [illegible] of the sixteen vowels, the [illegible] characteristics (lakṣaṇa) of the great person (mahāpuruṣa). The idea here is that the sixteen vowels are the sixteen parts of the body, which is the union of *prajnā* and *upāya*, as the red and white elements, hence a total of thirty-two sub-parts.[32]

The Tantric texts have comparable remarks for the twelve-year-old girl. Thus Saraha says: "Those who are adorned with various ornaments, having the form of youth, aged twelve, are accomplished from the twelve vowel letters and in this Tantra are called the *prajnā* aged twelve."[33] In the *Caryāgītakośavṛtti* according to Bhavabhadra's commentary, one arrives at the twelve vowels by leaving out the two neuters, ṁ and ḥ, explained to be R̥ R̥̄ ḷ and ḹ.[34]

The present writer has not noticed in these texts the method of applying the vowels to *prajnās* aged eighteen, twenty, or twenty-five. Presumably one could leave out further vowels for the older age or could repeat certain vowels for the two greater ages. For the twenty-five-year-old maiden, one might apply the standard list of twenty voidnesses.

128. Tob. 401. Kanjur. Rgyud. Ga, 24[illegible]6. R̥ (C. T. R̥ ṁ). Mori, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, [illegible] 1983, pp. 150-1. [illegible] the list of [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] of eighteen voidnesses leaves out [illegible] and 20.

129. [illegible]

130. [illegible] Tanjur. Rgyud. Ei, 20b-3.

131. *Shingchu*, 380b-6.

132. *Ibid.*, 38 a-5.

133. The *Dākārṇava*, *op. cit.*, Ra, 12.b-2, 3.

34. Tob. 1607, *Śrīcaryāgītakośavṛtti-vidyā-nāma*. Tanjur. Rgyud. Ha, 149a-2.

D. The transits of body winds

Indrabhūti states:

> The females aged sixteen and so on,
> The "sixteen-yeared female"—
> This has a purport explained otherwise,
> Expressed as the sixteen transits.
> Thereby the *yogini* wanders—
> As to place, namely—onto sixteen places,
> Onto the wheel's spokes numbering sixteen,
> Onto all of them, the vital winds wander.[135]

Ratnarakṣita says, "The wind has sixteen member transits in a single day."[136] One may arrive at this figure by the winds in eight watches along the right and left channels. It is of interest that sometimes the age of sixteen is expressed as twice eight, as in the case of the goddess Kurukulle, who is colored red and is twice-eight years.[137]

Padmavajra's detailed explanation of the sixteen transits as the sixteen digits *kalā*s of the moon is too long to translate here. In short, the first twelve transits are of the twelve interior zodiacal signs, starting with Aries (S. *meṣa*, T. *lug*). The thirteenth through the fifteenth concern the right and left channels in whatever order (not specifically mentioned) as well as the middle channel (specifically mentioned), symbolized respectively as the "food of solar manifestation," the "food of lunar manifestation," and the demon Rāhu (who causes eclipses). The sixteenth has the name *bindu* ("the drop").[138] Obviously one can arrive at the number twelve here by leaving out the last four transits. This gives the number of transits in Tsoṅ-kha-pa's passage, cited in the section on "The Female, Male, and Androgyne," which in fact also refers to transits through the twelve interior zodiacal signs.

Concluding considerations

Since the Tantras were traditionally handed down in esoteric circles, for many centuries they were read only by persons who had a genuine interest in understanding the subject and would spend the necessary time and

135 The *Snyiṅpo'bar'byed*, *op. cit.*, Ca. 169b-6.

136 Toh. 1420, *Śrīsaṃvarodayamahātantrarāja-padmini-nāma-paṭalikā*, Tanjur, Rgyud, Wa, 24a-2.

137 *Sādhana-mālā*, No. 181, Sanskrit text p. 381.

138 Toh. 4.9, *Śrī Dākārṇavamahāyoginītantrarāja-padmikā-paṭalikā-nāma*, Tanjur, Rgyud, Dza, 309a-1 to 309b-4. (This passage is translated in its entirety in my essay "Tantric Teachings about the Inner Zodiac.")

endeavor under a *guru's* direction to achieve maturity. The candidates had to adhere to various vows and pledges. If this symbolism is drawn out of context and presented to the general public in a mutilated, ignorant fashion, these works reap much scorn and condemnation. Even so, the Tantric adepts like Saraha would probably not regret the aversion of the "moral" person. The morality prerequisite for the Tantras in the reform of Atiśa (the Indian *paṇḍit* who came to Tibet around A.D. 1040), a reform revived by Tson-kha-pa three centuries later, is far too lofty for most persons. This reform requires the Bodhisattva vow to precede the vows and pledges of the Tantras, referred to in brief as the "*mantra* vow." And the reform requires the morality of the Prātimokṣa (non-Tantric Buddhist morality) to precede the Bodhisattva vow.

Our study shows that much of the female symbolism of the Anuttara-yoga-tantra is derived from the human experience of sexual union—meaning both the physical and the mental state. Just as the morality or immorality of this union is independent of the act itself but is derived from the circumstances in which it is conducted, so also the symbolism based thereon is per se amoral but properly or improperly assessed by persons according to their mental orientation.

Finally, one may wonder about the truth of certain strange ideas of this literature, but the Tantras have been scarcely touched by modern scholarship. It is premature to dismiss the Tantras as sheer superstition, as some have done, content to begin with certainty and spared the sleepless night of deepening insight.

15

THE FIVE FOLD RITUAL SYMBOLISM OF PASSION*

Introduction

A preeminate *sādhana* ("evocation of deity") sequence in the Buddhist Tantras, occurring innumerable times in the *Sādhana-mālā* and similar literature, is the order (1) realization of the void (*śūnyatābodhi*), (2) imagining there a germ syllable (*bīja*), (3) from that generating a hand symbol (*cihna*)—the emblem of the deity, and (4) from that accomplishing the body of the deity.

The present paper treats this *sādhana* formula in a more generalized form, together with its symbolic values, and signals the non-tantric Buddhist progression which the Tantras claim to quicken. Our exposition embodies some surprises, showing in Part I a comparison of Mañjuśrī's arrows with Kāmadeva's arrow attack on Śiva, leading to a comparison of the Greco-Roman tradition with the *skandha*-centers of the body, and then in Part II, introducing the relation with the famous "Heart Sūtra" (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra*), the *bodhisattva* preparation, path and fruit, the Abhidharma theory of basic and conditional causes and of rebirth after death and the intermediate state, and the Buddha Bodies.

Indeed, the "voidness" referred to in the first step of the usual Buddhist Tantric *sādhana* means the standard non-tantric meditations known as "selflessness of personality" (*pudgala-nairātmya*) and "selflessness of

* This article first appeared in *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism*, edited by Koyasan University, 1965, which may be consulted for Tibetan passages omitted in this reprint.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Tree

[illegible]

in Part I comes from his Mchan-bu commentary on the *Pradīpoddyotana* in the Japanese Photo edition Vol 148 Our main textual source for Part II is his *Snags rim chen mo* This work which we employ in a separate Peking blockprint (references by 'S' plus folio number) contains an elaborate discussion of both the Stage of Generation and the Stage of Completion of the Anuttara-yoga tantra as postulated as necessary and in that order The *Snags rim chen mo* shows that both Stages may be expressed with six members (*ṣaḍaṅga*) These two sets of six members are exposed above, Tables 4 and 5.

While five fold symbolism is ubiquitous in the Buddhist Tantras, we are concerned now with the symbolism in the 2nd member of the Stage of Generation, that of passion through Vajrasattva Furthermore, even here there are two ways of setting forth the five-fold symbolism, namely (a) as a five-part rite (*cho ga*) and (b) as a five-membered evocation in terms of germ syllables and hand symbols The latter is set forth in Part I of this paper together with a sketch of literary history and doctrine The former is set forth in Part II especially following Tson-kha-pa's exposition of the passion member (S 364b-6 to S 366a-6 S 379b-6 to S 388a-2 along with those important doctrinal parallels suggested by his wide treatment beginning S 379b-6 *rten pa lha bskyed pa* generation of the deities as residents")

I. The five arrows of Kāmadeva, the five arrows of Mañjuśrī, and the five *skandhas*

The Hindi work *Vaidik Kos*[1] mentions the *Atharva Veda* (3 25 1) as the early occurrence of love's *kāma's* arrow (*śara*) "The arrow of love which is terrible with that I pierce you in the heart"[2] That reference work cites ancient Vedic synonyms of *śara* ("arrow") *iṣu, śarya, śāt, bāna* When classical treatises of astronomy and other subjects began to employ ordinary words to signify numbers, the word 'arrow' was regularly employed for the number 5 Sirkar[3] cites for this purpose the synonyms *bāna, iṣu, śāyaka, ṣaṭ, vikīkha, kusumba, mārgaṇa* In the Mahābhārata *kāma* is personified as a deity Kāmadeva represented as releasing flowery arrows from his bow[4] The *Amarakośa* includes *pañcaśara* "five-arrowed" as a name of Kāmadeva

1 Śītalākānta, *Vaidik Kos* (Banāras Hindu University, 1963), p 90.
2 *yaḥ kāmaḥ śarabhūtaḥ tvayi hṛdi jagṛhe vedāhaṃ tamenaṃ tvayi hṛdi*
3 D C Sirkar *Indian Epigraphy* Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1965), p 231
4 C Ram Karan Sharma *Elements in Poetics in the Mahābhārata*, University of California published in Classical Philology Vol 20 (Berkeley 1964), p 25

[illegible]

[illegible]

[7] Miśra, op. cit., pp.

[illegible]

given in the order [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] are also then noted in the Buddhist *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, Chap. XVI, p. 121:

> The knower of mantras should contemplate in the middle of the Diamond [illegible] an adamantine Mahāsattva of great power. He should [illegible] the [illegible] of five arrows and make them fall, in the manner of the [illegible] thunderbolt, in five spots.

Candrakīrti's commentary called *Pradīpoddyotana*, as glossed in Tibetan by Tsoṅ-kha-pa [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Tsoṅ-kha-pa's [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] of the *Purāṇa* [illegible] [illegible] therefore the Buddhist equivalent of Kāmadeva. The *Pradīpoddyotana* states that the [illegible] the knower of mantras should contemplate [illegible] adamantine Mahāsattva of great power. The [illegible] contemplates in the realm [illegible] holding [illegible] the opening bud of which has [illegible] shafts, and holding in his left hand a bow. According to the *Pradīpoddyotana*, the [illegible] of the five arrows means that one [illegible] the arrows [illegible] them by means of mantras [illegible] in five spots of the body [illegible] the heart, the head, [illegible] forehead, the navel, the secret place [illegible] and the [illegible] The [illegible] the respective mantras to be deposited in the five spots [illegible]

Given the preceding data, [illegible] that a [illegible] symbol [illegible] arrows could stand [illegible] be employed in Indian literature starting with the

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[illegible] [illegible] *Bibliotheca Indica* [illegible] (Calcutta, 1912), p. 23.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] pañcacira.[6]

[illegible]

[illegible]

15. Lamotte, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 79–83

16. [illegible]

called *amrdga*, attraction of dark matter.[17] That the *skandhas* are being [illegible] is indicated by the *Prajñāpāramitā* [illegible] and Tantric [illegible] [illegible] because the five marks are depicted in body spots are standard [illegible] of the five Buddhas and because these five spots are allocated respectively to the five *skandhas* in another passage by Tsongkhapa [illegible] a passage which I translate from Tibetan as follows:

> The Dzogchen (Tib. [illegible]) explains that since the aggregate of forms [illegible] *skandhas* is the basis of seeds, the chief place of the *rupa-skandha* is the middle of the head, and explains that the forehead is the place of the Buddha family, hence we contemplate [illegible] the *skandha* of forms. Since [illegible] the aggregate of feelings [illegible] depends on water, its chief place is the navel. [illegible] and because the navel is the central place for the [illegible] the place of *samādhi* is the navel. Since the aggregate of [illegible] *skandhas* is the [illegible] of [illegible] its place is both feet beneath the [illegible] Since the aggregate of perceptions [illegible] *skandha* is the primordial basis of [illegible] and [illegible] the heart, the place of the *vijñāna skandha* is explained as the heart.[18]

This passage taken together with the *Prajñāpāramitā* commentary, as well as the standard [illegible] between the five gem *skandhas*, five Buddhas and five *skandha* enables us to set up the Buddhist *amrdga* process in tabular form (Table 16).[19]

The [illegible] of *skandhas* in body spots is not a correspondence with Greco-Roman concepts. According to Galen, the Greek [illegible] the idea spirit [illegible] a pneumatical, was located in the [illegible] head. The Romans had an opening, the *genius*, for which the forehead was considered sacred, and believed that the head was the source of mind and concerned in perception.[20] Note that the *rupa-skandha* is placed in the head for the same reason. Again, in Greek thought the liver was the sensual spring of desires

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The *amrdga* plays a part of the Stage of Consumption, as set forth [illegible] in Tsongkhapa's [illegible] the [illegible] the Stage of [illegible] the [illegible]

(1) [illegible]

(2) [illegible] Tsongkhapa, *An Introduction to Tantra* [illegible]

(3) [illegible] *Thoughts about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate*, p. 129

TABLE 16

"THE FIVE-ARROW CORRESPONDENCE"

ARROW NAMES (*anuriga* process)	MANTRA-NYASA (germ syllable and where deposited)	SKANDHA THEME LOCATED	SKANDHA THEME EGOS TO
1. sexual frenzy	Hūṁ in heart	*vijñāna* (perceptions)	Akṣobhya ("Unmoved one")
2. dazzle	Oṁ in head	*rūpa* (forms)	[illegible]
3. bewitchment	Śvā in navel	*vedanā* (feelings)	Ratnasambhava ("[illegible] of Jewels")
4. swoon	Āḥ in neck	*saṁjñā* (ideas)	[illegible]
5. unconscious rigidity	Hā in feet	*saṁskāra* (motivations)	Amoghasiddhi ("Unfailing Success")

emotions.[21] This agrees with locating the aggregate of feelings (*vedanā-skandha*) at the navel. For the Greeks and Romans the heart (more generally the chest) was the seat of consciousness and the seat of breath and consciousness was naturally identified with the breath. This concept agrees perfectly with the Tantric location of *vāyu* in the heart as the wind basis of object consciousness. It is remarkable that three of the Buddhist *skandhas* can be so closely identified with Greco-Roman attributions of functions to corporeal centers. The Tantric location of *saṁjñā* in the neck and *saṁskāra* in the feet has no obvious Greco-Roman parallel, although Onians does discuss the role of the feet.[22] *Saṁjñā* is placed in the neck probably because, as Johnston has pointed out, *saṁjñā* is the naming function,[23] and so associated with the neck as the seat of speech. Regarding the placement of *saṁskāra-skandha* as a center of corruptions or afflictions (*kleśas*) in the feet, this agrees with the Hindu correlation of the lower part of the body with the underworlds (*pātālas*) and the Mongolian Lama Dhowa Gegen Hutukhtu once told me that the feet are the location of Yama, the Lord of Death, and his sister Yami.

It is noteworthy that Indian, though consistently placed in the heart, the function of perception. Hence, the arrow of love was aimed at "this target and said to pierce in the heart" (*hṛdi* in the *Atharvaveda*, *hṛdaye* in the *Matsya Purāṇa*) and the five arrows were made to fall in five spots (*pañcasthāneṣu* in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, beginning with "in the heart

21. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 40 ff. and p. 49.
23. cf. his appendix, pp. 524 ff.
24. E. H. Johnston, *Early Sāṁkhya* (London, 1937), p. 2.

I use the word "perception" advisedly. The plan of Kāmadeva was to make Śiva perceive Umā or Gaurī make Śiva conscious of her as an object aware of her as the paragon of female sensuous appearance. Therefore, the arrow was aimed at the heart where Buddhism places *saṃjñā* and therefore I regularly translate *saṃjñā-skandha* as "aggregate of perceptions"[25]

The above considerations support what is already well known, namely that religious practices of India in classical times take for granted the Vedic corpus. In addition, there is a suggestion of Greco-Roman tie-ups with the Buddhist Tantras, which merits further investigation.

II The five-fold rite

In his annotation to the *Pradīpoddyotana* passage about the five arrows, Tsong-kha-pa (Photo-ed. Vol. 18, Pa 355a) discusses the position of some names that have meaning in terms of the *saṃgaddha* phase of the *Saṃpanna-krama*. He concludes that it represents a high-caste wedding ceremony in the Uttarā-krama and it means for a person of sharp senses who can achieve success (*siddhi*) in seven days.

Since the procedure of arrow imagination must pertain to the 2d *aṅga* of Utpanna-krama, one of merits that Tsong-kha-pa does indeed mention five syllables (e.g. at 355b) without giving them. But 355a also mentions the *mūla* which comprises the three syllables again not giving these which are usually Oṃ, Āḥ, Hūṃ. Moreover, he brings up 36 syllables in a different connection: the standard terminology of sixteen Sanskrit vowels denoted different parts of the body and the four Sanskrit consonants coordinated with the five elements. Furthermore, some of Tsong-kha-pa's materials on the 2d member apply more easily to the five syllable exposition than to the restriction to three syllables or to *mūla*. This is certainly the case when explaining 355a: 2. the symbolism of the five-pronged thunderbolt as representing the five embodiments, legs, trunk and head from neck up, the five fingers and toes in each of hands and feet, or the five senses in the head. But it is easy to see that the five arrow shafts held by Mārīcī as Vajrasattva correspond to the five-pronged thunderbolt. Therefore, three syllables may be taken as the abbreviated reference to the five syllables, and the distinction between

[25] The above considerations of the *Five skandhas* follow what closely Th. Stcherbatsky, The [illegible] Buddhist [illegible] p. 14. [illegible] passages [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] which is personified, so the literal sense of *saṃjñā* as "form" is more appropriate

mdzo, the three syllables, and the five syllables may involve the difference between ordinary and superior candidates, as suggested by Tsoń-kha-pa.

There are two *dgama* passages cited for the five-fold rite. The first, quoted (S 365b-6 from *Gur* (S *Padjara*),[6] shows the method of generating deity by exhortation with mystic song (*ża ba gźiś bskul nas skyed tshul*, discussed S 382b-3, ff.)

> One should contemplate the five aspects.
> (1) First imagining a man.
> (2) Then the emanation of the fairy circle (*dākinī-cakra*).
> (3) The entrance of the *gandharva* exhorted by the directional goddesses mindful to petition (i.e. by mystic song) to descend.
> (4) After exhortation the guidance by that circle as follows: depositing the three *rajas* of *moha*, etc., in three spots, the eye, etc.,
> (5) Then the *rajas* ("passion") causing the *dhātu* element to enter.

The second, quoted (S 380a-1) from the third *bstan-pa* of *Khā-dbyor* (S *Sampuṭa*),[7] shows the method of generating deity by means of the five Abhisambodhi (*mngon byan lnga skyed tshul*, discussed S 379 b-6, ff.)

> (1) The moon, having the "mirror-like" knowledge.
> (2) Likewise (=the 2d moon), having the "equality" knowledge.
> (3) The germ syllable (*bīja*) and (4) the hand symbol (*cihna*) of one's god, called "discriminative" (knowledge), and all those into one, called "procedure-of-duty" knowledge.
> (5) The pure and perfect image (*bimba*) having (*dharmadhātu* knowledge).

According to Tsoń-kha-pa (S 386b-2) in order to understand either of these two formulations of the rite, one must associate them with the three states of birth, death, and the intermediate state (*skye ḥchi, bar do gsum*). Indeed S 383b-4, 5, the very name (*utpatti-krama*) stage of generation is used because it is analogical to the life cycle of being born from a womb, amassing *karma*, dying, being an intermediate state being in a womb, and then taking birth again, thus becoming a son or daughter.

The rationale for applying this terminology to yoga experience is the well-known Buddhist meditation to negate the ordinary view of the

26. *Gur* abbreviates the Tibetan title equivalent to *Āryaḍākinīmahāyoginīsarvatantrarājakalpa-nāma* (Tohoku No. 419).

27. *Khā-dbyor* abbreviates the Tibetan title equivalent to *Sampuṭa-nāma-mahātantra* (Tohoku No. 78). The passage occurs in the Peking edition, Tokyo reprint, Vol. 2, p. 254, 5th folio.

[illegible]

the thunderbolt symbol and "make etc." stand for the three Buddhas, Vairocana, Akṣobhya and Amitābha, bearing the Mārā, Dveṣa, and Rāga families, who are generated from the three germ syllables.

Depending [illegible] the five germ syllables.

The [illegible] Buddhism [illegible] introduction of the teachings of the Buddhas [illegible] Tantric [illegible] Mandala [illegible] Mitchell. The Buddhist [illegible] Path of Accumulating Merit [illegible] takes place prior [illegible] the experience of Nirvāṇa. Death [illegible] the phase of [illegible] path [illegible] defined by Abhidharmakośa III 15cd as subsequent [illegible] the moment of birth and prior to the moment of death. [illegible] moment [illegible] Furthermore, according to the *Pañcakramopadeśa* as quoted in Śāntarakṣita [illegible] And immediately after the cessation of that first perception [illegible] pertaining to the contiguous flowing stream of consciousness proceeds. Among these, the cessation of the last perception [illegible] death [illegible] the emergence of the first perception is counted as birth [illegible] in this case.

Symbolic Death

Death is here explained (S 166a-d) as arising from serial negation of the personal aggregates and taking upon existence in the intuition of the Intermediate State. It is associated with the Path of Training [illegible] according to Maitreya the Stage of Action in Faith [illegible] and the Training in Decision about Reality [illegible] In the Pañcakramopadeśa doctrine it has four degrees thereof. Here [illegible] Forbearance [illegible] and Highest Mundane Natures [illegible] The four [illegible] groups of [illegible] Here and the Change [illegible] perceiving [illegible] Forbearance of Natures and Highest Mundane Natures [illegible] It is apparent that the Here [illegible] interpreted in same way. According to the present writer's translation [illegible] that Sacra

[illegible] *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. The Doctrine of Prajñā advanced as exposed in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. [illegible] pp. [illegible] The five Paths and meditative stages: preparatory stage, [illegible] stage, [illegible] stage, and [illegible] stage.

[illegible] Mitchell [illegible] (*Abhayākara-pāda.

31 Edition of Mithila Institute, p. 131, 13-16

32 Obermiller (*op. cit.*), pp. 34-37

[illegible] *Philosophy East and West* XI 3 (Oct. 1961), especially pages 109-113.

[illegible]

[illegible] or death."[34]

[illegible]

34. *Op. cit.*, 135. 12-13

[illegible] *Religions*, 4: 2 (Winter 1965), p. 296

[illegible] *Upanisad*, p. 151.

[illegible] also "death."[37]

[illegible]

[illegible] elements earth, water, fire, and wind

TABLE 17

"DEATH" (2 ASPECTS)

	AS "CAUSE OF BIRTH"	SOMEWHERE AN EXPERIENCE (A)	SOMEWHERE AN EXPERIENCE (B)	HETU-VAJRADHARA	DHARMA-KĀYA	PATH OF TRAINING	GENERATING THE *bodhicitta*
1.	Hetu, primary cause	Expiration (last perception)	he (releases semen)	moon ,= ,6 parts of *bodhicitta*)	Hetu-vajradhara in union with Prajñā-paramitā	"non-self of person ,*pudgala*)"	"aspiration mind"
2.	Pratyaya, conditional cause	Death Vision (karma)	she (holds her menstrual blood)	sun ,=the 5 elements)	the retinue of eight goddesses	"non-self of natures (*dharma*)"	"progressing mind"

[illegible] with the "world" as the [illegible] the phenomenal body of the Buddha. See Table 17.

Symbolic Intermediate State

[illegible]

[illegible]

Mdo-bgrel, Ni, 12b-1, 1 [illegible]

the "obscuration" on the one the final stages only the most subtle "obscuration" remains 43

Accordingly [illegible] the third path Path of Vision (*darśana-mārga*) which consists in the [illegible] the Path of Meditation (*bhāvanā-mārga*) [illegible] the Path of Concentration (*prayoga-mārga*) associated with the remaining more fundamental stages, is practised during the last nine *anusṭhāna*.

Now the term "Intermediate State" (*antarābhava*) was the topic of lively disagreement by ancient Buddhist [illegible] there is such a state.[44] Part of the dispute has rested on a different use of the term because part of the [illegible] was [illegible] was attributed to the Intermediate State. As the term is employed in this context [illegible] the state has begun when a person is headed towards a particular rebirth [illegible] It follows that [illegible] *vasana* and practices [illegible] from the world. The [illegible] path of vision may cover the [illegible] movement as well as the first *anusṭhā*

As was mentioned previously [illegible] entrance of the gandharva means of rebirth into the world. [illegible] for three ways of [illegible] and a people [illegible] Through the golden path [illegible] and the [illegible] path. Through the breath of the mother or of the father and by both combined. By mother [illegible] mother way [illegible] through the path of the world. The third way is asserted [illegible] gandharva [illegible] passion [illegible] the male or the female. This is a paraphrase of the first way in his *Jñānagarbha-commentary* on the *Guhyasamāja*

> Moreover [illegible] as a man riding a horse [illegible] master [illegible] the disciplined mind [illegible] the [illegible] and State [illegible] body [illegible] the [illegible] of wind [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] or a movement [illegible] mother [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] thème "Il y a une existence intermédiaire

the Vajrocana points. [illegible] Vajrocana 45

The three ways seem to be ordered as superior, middling and inferior. The superior way [illegible] Vajrocana 46

Therefore [illegible] passages [illegible] Vajrocana 47

[illegible]

45. [illegible]
46. *Shugs rim chen mo*, § 387a-4, 5, 6.
47. [illegible]

(one realizing the *sādhanas*), when reaching "forms" by way of the eye offers the lady Rūpavajrā to the *tathāgata* Vairocana, sensually with the other objects and senses: Sabdavajrā to Ratnasambhava, Gandhavajrā to Amitābha, Rasavajrā to Amoghasiddhi, Sparśavajrā to Akṣobhya. This is consistent with the *Pradīpoddyotana* (Mchan-bgrel edition, ibid., p. 55), identification of sense objects with the *tathāgatas*. Then the correspondences in Table 6 enable us to quickly assign the arrow names accordingly. The only change in order is Akṣobhya's sensual frenzy moved from first in the *Guhyāsamāja* series to fifth in the sense object series, with the others moved up in the same order. But the present order of the arrows is consistent with the story in the *Amṛtakaṇa* commentary that the fifth arrow (unnamed), here the one named *madana*, succeeded in arousing Śiva sensually, whereas the defiling arrow in the *Kumārasambhava* version is *sammohana*.

Elsewhere Tsoń-kha-pa considers the Sambhoga kāya with the Intermediate State and he uses with the ten avasthās of Nāropa.[48] See Table 8 where the data of his section is summarized. Of course the five arrows (whatever of their names) can be replaced by the five-pronged thunderbolt, also emblematic of the five *tathāgatas*.

Symbolic Rebirth

Tsoń-kha-pa explains at S 346a 3-4 that upon being born as a "son" after the ten stages there is the Trai-śoma-pauna-vajra-śobhana, namely the state of manifesting a deity, the Nirmāṇa kāya. And this is the fifth *bodhisattva* path called "Stage Beyond Training" (*mnaṅ-pa-med-pa*) (I at the fifth aspect in both *dgoṅs* passages).

In the case of the first *dgoṅs* passage the rebirth can be interpreted as from upwards down, as a passionate emanation of the knowledge of the Dharmakāya, or as an overshadowing of an individual by the *tathāgata* of his family *kula*, or from downwards up, as a dedication of the candidate, or as the human *bodhisattva* emerging from the tenth or Dharmamegha stage into the Buddhabhūmi. The second *dgoṅs* passage stresses the method of generating the gods of the *maṇḍala* in the fifth aspect, the god assumes a concrete attitude reflecting the repose of the Dharmadhātu, or merges with the external icon.

According to the Siddhānta Commentary by Hjam-dbyaṅs bźad-pahi-rdo-rje, there are three kinds of Nirmāṇa kāya: 1) at start, 2) of birth, and 3) of Enlightenment. *But does it or be from sub-genus skye grum?* Citing references, his author explains the first kind as fashioning for the sake of sentient beings, but of birth as the births

48 Cf. *Ibid.* 70-71 for correspondence of Nāropa avasthās with stages of womb, and for an exposition of the Sambhoga kāya in the Intermediate State being, cf. A. Wayman, Buddhist Genesis and the Tantric Tradition, above.

TABLE 18

"INTERMEDIATE STATE" (2 ASPECTS)

AVASTHĀ IN WOMB	A. SKANDHA PERFECTED	A. DISTURBANCES TO BE ELIMINATED (SPANS PA)	A. GERM SYLLABLE AND COLOR	BODHISATTVA STAGES	VISNU AVATĀRAS
1	vijñāna	hatred	black Hūṃ	Joy (pramuditā)	Fish
2	vedanā	pride	yellow Svā	Immaculate (vimalā)	Tortoise
3	saṃskāra	envy	green Hā	Illuminating (prabhākarī)	Boar
4	saṃjñā	lust	red Ah	Blazing (arcismatī)	Man-Lion
5	rūpa	delusion	white Oṃ	Unconquerable (sudurjayā)	Dwarf
	B. INDRIYA PERFECTED	B. KNOWABLES TO BE REALIZED (*rigs pa*)	B. HAND SYMBOL IN CASE OF ARROW NAMES		
6	eyes	forms	dazzle	Facing (abhimukhī)	Paraśu-Rāma
7	ears	sounds	bewitchment	Far-reaching (dūraṃgamā)	The 2d Rāma
8	nose	odors	swoon	Motionless (acalā)	Kṛṣṇa
9	tongue	tastes	unconscious rigidity	Perfect Wisdom (sādhumatī)	Buddha
10	torso (skin)	tangibles	sexual frenzy	Cloud of Doctrine (dharmameghā)	Kalki

depicted in Jātaka stories and that of Enlightenment as the Nirmāṇakāya of the Buddha demonstrating, among Twelve Acts, Complete Enlightenment.[49]

The first kind, in further explanation, seems equivalent to hypostasis in chosen individuals that is, magically manifesting in multiform ways as *tridhakāya*, *pratyekabuddha*s, Indra, Brahmā, etc. So the first of the three kinds is especially applicable to Symbolic Rebirth as the fifth aspect of the rite.

Since the Symbolic Death has been explained above as the cause of Symbolic Birth, it is well to point out a corroboration of this in terms of the moon = 16 parts of *bodhicitta* of Table 3. Ye-ses rgya-mtshan, the Yoḥ-ldzin for the Dalai Lama Hjam-dpal rgya-mtsho, contains in his Collected Works, Lhasa ed., Vol. Tha, Toh. No. 6016, a commentary on the sixteen Sthaviras, in the course of which passage begins (160a) he refers to various Nirmāṇakāyas (*sprul sku*) and mentions the *Bkaḥ-gdams thig le bcu drug gi rgyud dkyil* (*Sādhana* and *maṇḍala* of the Bkaḥ-gdams school rite, sixteen parts of the *bindu*).[50] Earlier he states:

> In that meaning (*nirdeśa*), these sixteen Sthaviras are as said: "The sixteen Sthaviras, concretely the Three Jewels, who are the Arya host of Arhat *nirmāṇa*s of the Buddha protecting the Teaching for the sake of the world, provide the grace (*adhiṣṭhāna*) so that the Teaching may long endure. Just as the Buddha was said to have gone to the ultimate of cessation (*nirvāṇa*) of defilement and realization of the knowables, so the sixteen Sthaviras have gone to the ultimate of cessation and realization."[51]

Or, as said in the "Heart Sūtra," "There is Enlightenment. Ha!"

Conclusion

It has been a special pleasure for the writer to weave together the above materials, casting some light on Tantric *yoḍhana*, indicating a source of the non-tantric background of Buddhist tantric ideas, and generally certifying Tsoṅ-kha-pa's tantric reform that requires non-tantric Buddhism as the indispensable preparation for the Tantras.

An incidental conclusion is that the principal message of the Prajñāpāramitā literature is the "Path of Training" of the *bodhisattva*, that is, especially to develop the point that both *pudgala* and *dharma* are *nirātmika* and then in the space thus vacated of false views, to arouse the Mind of Enlightenment, consistently with Kamalaśīla's commentary on the

49. The Gsoṅ-mchah-bzhi-ma called *Bde ba can-gyi sku* published at Mussoorie, India, under the editorship of the 13th Dalai Lama, Sec. Cha, 30b-31a.

50. Ye-ses rgya-mtshan, Vol. Tha, 328-6, ff.

[illegible]

"realization of the void"

[illegible]

("sexual frenzy").

[illegible]

Perhaps these terms have a special meaning gained through "rainbows" (*rtogs pa*) of the "knowable

An attempt can be made to suggest the meaning by considering the whole last line in Table 6. Here the 6th *anuttarā* in the womb is said to perfect the skin which senses the tangible or touchables and it is the 6th *Bodhisattva* stage called "Cloud of Dharma" where *bodhisattva* is a future *buddha* just as Kalki is the future avatāra of Viṣṇu. What is the meaning of "sexual frenzy" here as applied to *both natures* of the 6th stage Mahāyāna etc.? Here a pictorial representation may help convey the point. See the plate 89 of Mahāyāna the Nairātmyā as Ekavīra. The Solitary Hero (in Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949), discussed as, 583, where the phallus is up but hidden. Compare it with Hermes. Greek vase painting in the Hamilton Collection, reproduced in C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, Bollingen Series XX (New York 1953), p. 26, where Hermes is represented only by a head and an erect phallus, both attached to a symbolic pole. Then, what is the meaning here of the passion suggested by the Sanskrit *bodhi-liṅga*? Starting with the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* he has a spot pierced by love's arrow has been in the heart. So, just as in the "Twenty-one Praises of Tārā" the "upward *liṅga*" at the thumb is the heart marked with the Three Jewels as seen in the Stūpa-stambha of Amaravatī (*Boloratna Pratik* 3 and picture No. 40). In the *Mahāyāna* the 6th Bodhisattva stage is called *abhiṣeka* (coronation or initiation) so called in Sanskrit because attended with sprinkling, symbolizing lustration. This is the "heart" meaning of the sprinkled *bodhi-liṅga*, the Stūpa-stambha in the heart. Therefore when Māra's arrow is unsuccessful against the meditating Gautama it means that a "lower" passion could not be aroused. The eros also bliss (*sukha*) associated with lofty *samādhi* attainment could still be present, as suggested by the "Hem thunderbolt" (*bodhi-liṅga*) in the heart according to the terminology in *Mahāyāna grub-mtha's*, Chapter I, and this also suggests a heart location for the "sexual frenzy"

16

RECEIVED TEACHINGS OF TIBET AND ANALYSIS OF THE TANTRIC CANON

I. Outline of the thob yig gsal baḥi me loṅ

A *thob yig* ("manual of what was received") is a work in which the author sets forth the lineages of the various doctrines and practices in which he has become learned or skilled. The East Asiatic Library, University of California, Berkeley, California, possesses a four-volume *thob yig* by the Dzaya-paṇḍita Blo bzaṅ bphrin las, entitled *Zab pa daṅ rgya che baḥi dam paḥi chos kyi thob yig gsal baḥi me loṅ*, "The 'Bright-mirror' *thob yig* of the profound and far-reaching illustrious Law." This is a well-printed Peking block-print. The same library also has this author's *Nag rnams phyogs su bsgrigs pa*—his minor essays. The latter were quite popular among the Lamas, especially the essay *Ma-niḥi phan yon sogs stoṅ paḥi bṅi rlabs myur bḥig ces bya*, on the celebrated formula *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ*, and hence were sometimes separately printed. These are in two volumes in a Peking block-print which has been run off from blocks damaged in part. Both sets were brought to that University by Professor F. D. Lessing. Using the colophon of the *thob yig* and his autobiography

1. In the original printing *Indo-Asian Studies*, Part 1 (1962), the editor, Lokesh Chandra, supplied this note: "For a general idea about *thob yig* also see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 24. It may be noted that a copy of this *thob yig* also exists in the collection of Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira. This work will be printed in the Śatapiṭaka Series in the near future. A short biography of Jayapaṇḍita Blo bzaṅ bphrin las and a list of his works is given in Lokesh Chandra, *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia*, introd. p. 18, text p. 10."

among the *dge slongs*. I have already pointed out that he was born [illegible] and was [illegible] years old when the Sixth Dalai Lama was [illegible] years old [illegible] and that he may have been the teacher of the Sixth Dalai Lama.[2]

The [illegible] some of the contents of his *thob yig* will serve to illustrate the structure and style of the work in such a work. In almost all cases the biographies have been severely condensed and are replete with religious terms. Perhaps the courses of the author are thinned out or he more part unfamiliar to Western readers, it appears desirable to suggest the research possibilities of this compendium. The Roman numbers [illegible] the Pe-ring edition in volumes Ka, Kha, Ga, and Na are represented respectively by I, II, III and IV.

The work begins with the usual stanzas of bowing to the great Indian and Tibetan teachers and acknowledgments to his own teachers.

Chapter (*mdzes*) — ending I 6b2a: Dge bsnyen bzhi gsum gyi rnam par bshad pa bzhi'i sdom pa dang bcas pa'i bsnyen par bsgrub pa'i rnam par bshad pa'i sgo nas pha rol tu phyin pa'i bsnyen par bsgrub pa'i rnam par bshad pa. Exposition of the method of hearing and search through reliance on a trained guide [illegible] and exposition of the proper method of entering the religious life and receiving ordination through entrance in the teaching.

The chapter [illegible] with examples has the contents. We may mention also the [illegible] included [illegible] a general discussion of the Lam (*alhamar*) and its [illegible] with [illegible] scriptures (T. [illegible] S. [illegible]) and higher [illegible] (T. [illegible] S. [illegible]). Number [illegible] author [illegible] are quoted for [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] of pronunciation [illegible] concerned with authoritative commentary [illegible] agree.

Chapter (*mdzes*) ending I 13b: Thos pa'i bsnyen par bsgrub pa'i rnam par bshad pa. A sketch of the course of hearing [illegible] and pondering [illegible] of the common sciences.

The author explains that after one has entered the teaching as in Chapter [illegible] he studies sciences [illegible] of two kinds, common sciences [illegible] and uncommon sciences [illegible] and [illegible] sciences [illegible]. The first kind is the subject of this chapter. Many legends are given to account for the origin of the sciences. The uncommon sciences are for the most part accessible in Western sources through the translations of Taranatha and of Bu ston's History of Buddhism. Lists of teachers are given in each case. The common sciences are grammar, logic, arts and medicine. The Roman numbers in [illegible] where the individual [illegible] begins.

I. [illegible] Sgra (S. *śabda*) — grammar. — Sgra has the five appendages or

2. [illegible] Tsong and Miles, *Indo-Tibetan Journal*, Vol. II, [illegible] p. 21 note. Beginning the page I translated the explanations of the three kinds of [illegible]

subsidiary topics (*bar brtsal*) of *sdeb dbangs* (S. *kāvya*, "poetic art"), *mdzes bzhad* (S. *abhidhāna*, "lexicography"), *sdeb sbyor* (S. *chandas*, "metrics"), *rtsis gar* (S. *nāṭaka*, "drama"), and *skar rtsis* (S. *jyotis*, "astrology" and *gaṇita*, "astronomy").

[ ]26a4 *Gtan tshigs* (S. *hetu-vidyā*, "logic")

[ ]26a2 *Bzo ba* (S. *śilpa*) the arts

[ ]26b2 *Gso ba* (S. *cikitsā*, "medicine"). The inordinate space devoted to this heading is due to the inclusion of tantric rites concerned with medicine.

[ ]28b6 *Srog bstan sgam po*. Story of the introduction of the precepts into Tibet during his reign.

Chapter (*sarga*) 3, ending [ ]34b2. *Rgyu mtshan lhag kyi theg pahi dam pahi chos la thos bsam gyis bag chags can zad bzlag pa dang gtsug nahi lus dang bkhrid thob pahi shul bsad pa*, "A sketch of the traces of hearing and pondering of the illustrious cave containing in the causal, or esoteric, vehicle, and exposition of how the texts and scriptures and guidance [through them] was obtained."

In beginning his treatment of uncommon science, the author subdivides this into the causal *rgyu*, S. *hetu*, or esoteric, *mtshan dang* S. *lakṣaṇa*, vehicle, *theg pa* S. *yāna*, and the resultative *'bras bu* S. *phala*, esoteric, *sngags* S. *mantra*, vehicle, *theg pa*. Both are called "inner science," *nang rig* S. *adhyātma-vidyā*, and fundamental, *rtsa ba'i gzhi pa* S. *mūla-bhūta*, to both is the translated Word, *Bka' 'gyur* or Kanjur of the great sages, *thub pa chen po*. As can be seen by the chapter title, we are here concerned with only the causal, esoteric, vehicle. The resultative, esoteric, vehicle is treated in chapters 4 through 9. The translated Word is treated in chapters 10 and [illegible]. Our present chapter in turn divides the treatment of *lung* (S. *āgama*, "scripture"), beginning [ ]35b1, and of *khrid* S. *nayana*, "guidance," meaning a guided tour through the scriptures, beginning [ ]36b4. The first subdivision occupies most of the chapter and is devoted chiefly to biographies, which also mention works and lineages.

[ ]35a2	Biography of Maitreya-nātha	
[ ]125b4.	"	Asaṅga.
[ ]130a3.	"	Vasubandhu
[ ]134a3.	"	Guṇaprabha.
[ ]136b3.	"	Nāgārjuna
[ ]138b1	"	Āryadeva

3. The expression *mtshan nyid kyi theg pa* literally "vehicle of the characteristic(s)." Here characteristics are the marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of a set of Buddhahood, as he is usage derives from Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, as suggested in "The Basis of Tantra according to Asaṅga," *Journal of the Tibetan Works and Archives*, Vol. II, No. 4, 1970, p. 19. The Tibetans take the term literally, adopting this term with the implication that the highest vehicle is "without characteristics."

1.141b2 Biography of Haribhadra.
1.44a1 " Dihnāga
1.45b2. " Dharmakīrti.
1.48a3 " Candragomin
1.15.a " Śākyaprabha
1.15.b2. " Dharmarakṣita.

1.52b5 History of the six texts of the Bkah gdams pa school, i.e. the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Bodhisattvavatārāvadāna*, the *Jātakamālā*, and the *Udānavarga*. In the course of this he gives the biography of Śāntideva.

1.62b3 The *chos chuṅ brgya rtsa* (a centenary of minor works) concerned with the teaching of Atiśa. 103 commentaries listed with translators. This is the collection called *Jo-bokh chos chuṅ* (Tohoku Kanjur-Tanjur Catalog nos. 4465-4567).

The six texts of the Bkah gdams pa and the *chos chuṅ brgya rtsa*, are the exoteric *āgama* introduced by the reformer Atiśa, who arrived in Tibet in the year 1042.

1.69a5 Biography of Śākyaśrī, who arrived in Tibet in the year 1204 (*śiṅ pho byi*).

1.1?.b4 The second subdivision of the chapter devoted to *bkhrid*, or guidance. Here we learn that the exoteric guidance is comprehensively given in two works by Tsoṅ khu pa, his *Lam rim chen mo* and *Lam rim chuṅ ba*, respectively the stages of the path (full version), and the same compressed version. These in turn each incorporate two guidance lineages called *rgyu chen spyod* (ample practice) headed by the Bodhisattva Maitreya, and *zab mo lta* (profound doctrine), headed by the Bodhisattva Mañjughoṣa.

Chapter (*sarga*) 4 ending 1.297a5 (and concluding Volume I). Zur bkahi ries gnaḥ gi skor thob pahi tshul bśad pa, Exposition of how the cycle of permission (*anujñā*) in the specialized promulgations was obtained.

In the resultative esoteric vehicle which now begins, there is a division into specialized promulgations (*zur bkaḥ*), general promulgation (*spyi bkaḥ*), and the abstruse cycle of associated collected works of Lamas, analyzing the concepts of *sūtra* and *tantra* (*'or byuḥ bla maḥi gsuḥ bkaḥ sogs mdo snags rtsa ślad so sor dbye dkaḥ baḥi skor*). The present chapter is concerned with the first category, namely specialized promulgations, and is devoted only to the subsection of the *anujñā* (permission) to invoke the deity, which sets forth in the order in which it was introduced into Tibet. These are further subdivided with an overall grouping into permission in the Kriya-Tantra and permission in the Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra. The former begins 1.174b4, the latter 1.249a4. The contents are rich in legends of the main deities worshipped in Tibet, and give the lineage of

teachers or perhaps more appropriately have predecessors or adepts. These are a [illegible] lineage.

[illegible] Tārā. The [illegible] brief biographies, and other matters.

f.221a4 to 231b6. Legend of Tārā

[illegible] legend of the Dema Yama, called [illegible] and great

Chapter [illegible] ending [illegible] Tārā. [illegible] **promulgations were obtained."**

[illegible] **doctrine (115a3 to 128b6)**

Chapter [illegible] ending [illegible] **promulgation were obtained."**

[illegible] biography of the Mahāsiddha Mitra [illegible] and list of his work, the *Rāja*

Ngawang Chandrakirti comprising the *dkyil khor drug ma'i rdzogs rim*, "Perfection of the sixty-six mandalas"

Chapter [illegible] ending II 2[illegible] Spyi khab ma'i gsang ba'i khor. bsdu pa'i khab. bsdu pa. [illegible] of the [illegible] of permission [illegible] of the general preparation was obtained.

Here we may especially point out II 52a6 to 17b2 discussion of the *abhisheka* collection in relation to a special permission. [illegible] description of the Samblanga cave in terms of the five permission. [illegible] II 81a6 to 21a6 biographies of the 84 Mahasiddhas which are numbered in the text. [illegible] II 1 5a6 ff. the author explains that he has summarized the 84 biographies as [illegible] the original [illegible] by the Tibetan [illegible] and [illegible] detail [illegible] other [illegible] he discusses the text in general and in connection with another permission.

Concluding the chapter is a brief discussion (f. 21[illegible]a4 ff.) of guidance (*khrid*) in the general preparation.

Chapter [illegible] 9 completing Vol. II and ending [illegible] II 43a4. Bigya bhad ky mahas grub thob [illegible] bsdu pa'i [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] biographies of the [illegible] and Tibet and of leading figures of the Bkah gdams pa [illegible] as well as of how the scripture dgams was observed in the [illegible] works.

The [illegible] of the [illegible] contains [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] chapter 13 [illegible]. The present chapter covers [illegible] up to the [illegible] ending [illegible] 1a4 to [illegible] There are [illegible] [illegible]

II [illegible] Biographies of Sa [illegible] the [illegible] Indian pandit who passed a period in [illegible] Tibetan [illegible] [illegible] Padmasambhava [illegible]

[illegible] Biographies of [illegible] the Bkah gdams pa [illegible] Indian pandit [illegible] of the Indian Buddhists who came for the [illegible] in Tibet. The Bkah gdams pa school was [illegible] by his best student [illegible]

There [illegible] the biographies of Mahasiddhas [illegible] Nag [illegible] and Lha bla ma Bkah [illegible] ff. [illegible] percentages [illegible] There is [illegible] discussion of the [illegible] of the Bkah gdams pa [illegible] biographies [illegible] of Sa skya pandita A.D. 1182 [illegible] who was primarily responsible for

converting the Mongols to Buddhism. There follow the biographies of immediate predecessors and teachers of Taranatha (pa: names). Bu ston (in pa: the redactor of the Kanjur and Tanjur from beginning of Vol. III). Thang stong rgyal po (pa: [illegible] 466 ff.), Serlo dpal bzang po (Tibetan: [illegible] 260 ff.), the bla ma Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (III 206b5 ff.), and Red mda' pa (III 149a1 to 42b5).

Chapter (Tibetan) 9, completing Vol. III and ending IV 174b4. Rgyal ba Tsa'i ba pa (Tibetan: [illegible]) is the author's teacher, and he gives his full name and birth place. Exposition of the various lineages (including of the rnal 'byor ma), the great Tsar cha pa, and of his spiritual sons, as well as of how the scriptures was obtained from these collected works.

Chapter 9 is in effect a history of the Gelugpa school, founded by Tsar cha pa (1357–1419), in terms of the lives of its principal figures. The only other mention of the Sa skya pa (Tibetan: [illegible]) is the author's teacher, he who was active shortly after the beginning of the 16th century. Theoretically, the author should include only those teachers in whom he stands. However, apparently by encyclopedic knowledge, he manages to have learned something of almost everyone of importance at least in the Gelugpa school, and he gives him the opportunity to write up their biographies, even though in many cases it is extremely brief. We shall not enter the many personages he treats, but restrict ourselves to a few remarks. He treats with greatest appreciation the Dalai Lamas, the Panchen Lamas, and he is interesting in his treatment of the Gelugpa teachers of the Eighteen Lamas. He has an especially amiable treatment of the 1st Panchen Lama, Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (pa: [illegible] 90b to 213a2), and continuing up to his own time, gives increasingly greater and more detailed biographies. Hence, the 18th century, with which he was familiar, is especially well treated, and he naturally speaks with greatest authority on his period. Understandably, his chief emphasis is religious.

Chapter (Tibetan) 10, ending IV 247b5. Rgyal ba phyogs las rnam rgyal (pa: [illegible]) is the author's teacher, he who gave his full name. Exposition of how the scriptures of the rnal 'byor ma, which show principally the teaching of the Kalachakra, were obtained.

Chapters 11 and 12 are devoted to the Kanjur, the approximate pro[illegible] of Chapter 11 [illegible] the contents of the canon of Chapter 12 [illegible] the author has made a [illegible] division, so he will now dividing his treatment of the Kanjur into two chapters on this basis.

He leads up to his main subject matter with the following serious

(V 17a1 to 18?a4) biography of Śākyamuni in terms of the 12 Acts (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*) (V [illegible]) What how the great Śākyamuni compiled the Word (*bka'*) (*bka'i dkon mchog*) (V [illegible]) What to what comprises one of the Word (*bka'*) (*bka'i dkon mchog*) (V [illegible]) What is (with) duration of the Teaching (V [illegible]) to [illegible]) important teachers in India and their commentaries (V [illegible]) to [illegible]) diffusion of the Teachings in Tibet

The sutras which there principally the causal *pāramitā* vehicle fall into four groups

(1) (V [illegible]) [illegible] dang po bdun bdun chos kyi'ar brjod bu bdud bu bdud. The *Āgama* sutras arising from the first promulgation (*dang po*) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths In the Tohoku Catalog, nos 1-7

(2) (V 20?a [illegible]) [illegible] Bar po mnyam bzad mnyad pabi chos kyi'ar brjod bu dar phyogs. The *Prajñā-pāramitā* sutra arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (*mtshan nyid med pa*) (*Nirvāṇa*) In the Tohoku Catalog, nos [illegible])

(3) (V 20?a2 [illegible]) [illegible] Tha ma bzhi par rnam par phye bahi chos kyi'ar brjod bu dkon brtsegs dang phyogs. The *Ratnakūṭa* and *Gaṇḍavyūha* sutras arising from the last promulgation) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning perfect discrimination (*rnam par phye ba*) (*Yoga experience*) In the Tohoku Catalog, nos [illegible] (*Ratnakūṭa*) and 45-93 (*Gaṇḍavyūha*)

(4) (V 2[illegible]) [illegible] Ji ltar bzhi gsum pa'i rnam par grangs pa ste tshan phyogs gang la bsgrags pahi mdo mdo mang. The numerous sutras which pertain in some manner to all four Wheels of the Law, arranged in a single major class In the Tohoku Catalog, nos 94-[illegible]

All the works are listed individually with notice of the translators, and listing of the chief names of the lineage giving with the particular work. The Kanjur used by the author has fewer discrepancies with the Derge edition, but the works are not always in the same order. Furthermore, the works with nos [illegible] in the Tohoku Catalog found in the Derge Kanjur are apparently all translations from Pali not included in the original plan of the Kanjur and are not discussed by the author

Chapter [illegible] ending (V 2[illegible]) Mdzad bu rdo rje thog po gnas bcu pahi rgyal po'i mdzad pa gsal bar bstan pahi bsad pa. Exposition of how the scriptures of the cycle of *sūtras* which show principally the resultant vehicle were obtained

First (V [illegible]) the author mentions that he will not discuss the *Bka' Bstan Rgyal* The Old Tantras Tohoku catalog nos [illegible] because not [illegible] here dealt was not obtained [illegible] he is not the [illegible] of instruction concerning here handed down from master to disciple In other words, the mere fact that a text has been translated into the Tibetan language gives no one a particular right to expound it here.

or presume to say he understands them. Even the most prominent authors write authoritatively only in those fields in which they can show they are the link in the chain of teachers. This accounts for the care taken to list the lineage of teachers for the various texts, as well as for the tendency to study only certain works, completely disregarding large sections of the translated canon.

His treatment of the remaining *tantras* undoubtedly follows Bu-ston, who fixed the arrangement in the 14th century, except for a few details, such as the interpolation of one or more later-translated texts. Just as for the *sūtras*, he lists the translators and the lineage. These are the most major categories:

IV 242b6. ff. Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra (*rnal ḥbyor bla med kyi rgyud*), Tohoku Catalog nos. 360-478.

IV 259a3, ff. Yoga-Tantra (*rnal ḥbyor rgyud*), Tohoku nos. 479-493.

IV 262b2. ff. Caryā Tantra (*spyod pahi rgyud*), Tohoku nos. 494-501.

IV 264b. ff. Kriyā Tantra (*bya baḥi rgyud*), Tohoku nos. 502-827.

There are a few works in the Derge Kanjur not listed by the author.

The whole work concludes with a long colophon, IV 289b2 to 301a.

* * *

II. Analysis of the Tantric section of the Kanjur correlated to Tanjur exegesis

The present analysis of the Kanjur *Rgyud ḥbum* is based on the *Thob yig gsal baḥi me loḥ* by the Dzaya-paṇḍita Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las.[4] The correlation to the Tanjur exegesis is made with the help of Palmyr Cordier's *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Vols. II and III (Paris, 1949 and 1915), along with his Lehu numbers.[5] All numbers of works are references to *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* (published by the Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai, Japan, 1934). The latter is a catalog of the Derge edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur, but, presumably every library which possesses a Kanjur and

4. Cf. my preceding "Outline of the Thob yig gsal baḥi me loḥ." Prof. G. Tucci in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1949), pp. 26-265, presents the minute systematization, but the Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las work was more convenient to me at the time the study was made, in fact, early summer 1953, according to the "speech" from which the present article is prepared with corrections according to my present knowledge.

5. The two volumes are Cordier's index to the Tanjur. His tragic death at the outset of the First World War prevented his completion of the projected Vol. I devoted to alphabetical indexes. This part was finished by Mireille Cazou in her *Repertoire du Tanjur d'après le Catalogue de P. Cordier*, Paris, 1953. The Lehu numbers in meant the data in Cordier's Vol. I, pp. 5-330; it should also be mentioned that my correlation to the Tanjur does not exhaust all the Tantric Tanjur entries, particularly in Cordier's catalog, but fairly well accounts for the numbers in the *Rgyud ḥgrel* section of the Derge Tanjur as catalogued at the Tohoku University.

Tanjur of whatever edition would have this catalog because it is the only one so far for both a Kanjur and Tanjur.

The Kanjur classification of the *Rgyud 'bum* was finally set by Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.D.) in four groups—Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra, Yoga-Tantra, Caryā-Tantra, and Kriyā-Tantra. A separate group called the *Rāṅ rgyud* (Tohoku catalog nos. 828-844) comprises the old Tantras considered genuine but whose *āgama* (descent through master and disciple) had been broken or at least was not available to Bu-ston.

	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
A. Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra		
1. Neither Father nor Mother[6]		
Mañjuśrī-nama-saṅgīti[7] (Cordier, Lehu 12)[8]	360	1395-1400, 2090-2121
Kālacakra (Cordier, Lehu)[9]	361-365	1346-1394
2. Mother Tantras, under seven groupings,		
a. Ston pa, through g. Vajradhāra[10]		
a. Ston pa (**deśaka*).		
Sarvabuddhasamayoga (Cordier, Lehu 8)	366-367	1659-1682
b. Heruka (i.e. Akṣobhya), in five classes		
(1) *Saṃvara* (Cordier, Lehu 2)	368-415	1401-1606[11]
(2) *Hevajra* (Cordier, Lehu 3)	417-423	1180-1345[12]

6. Tsoṅ-kha-pa did not admit this category for him, the *Kālacakra* is a Mother Tantra. His views are summarized by his disciple Mkhas grub rje in the *Rgyud sde spyi rnam*, which Prof. F. D. Lessing and I have translated. It was my work on Mkhas grub rje's text, but originally inspired the research embodied in the present article.

7. This work is in a class by itself, because it has a set of commentaries as an Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra, and another set as a Yoga-Tantra (therefore see also the Yoga-Tantra section).

8. Cordier's Lehu 12 covers only the numbers 2090-2121, which are located immediately after the Father Vairocana *Yamāri* Tantric exegesis and are followed by the Father Padma-kula *Bhagavadekajaṭā* Tantric exegesis. It can be assumed that nos. 2090-2121 are commentaries in the Father Vairocana Tantric tradition. On the other hand, nos. 395-400 are included in Cordier's Lehu 1 as *Kālacakra* commentaries.

9. Cordier's Lehu 1 also includes nos. 395-400, as pointed in note 8.

10. The intention is to list the Tantras under the Buddha (Tathāgata, Jina) being emphasized. The first category (Ston pa) deals with all the Buddhas equally, and so strictly speaking does not constitute an individual Tantric family. The remaining six groups then correspond, and in the same order, to the six of the Father Tantras. The sixfold group can be increased to seven by dividing the Vajradhara family into causal (*hetu-*) and fruitional (*phala-*) Vajradhara. In such a case, the causal Vajradhara is called Vajrasattva.

11. The numbers 1401-1540 and 1541-1606 roughly correspond to Cordier's division into Yab skor and Yum skor, respectively.

12. Yab skor, nos. 1180-1304. Yum skor, nos. 1305-1320. Gur skor, 1321-1330, Thig skor, 1331-1345.

	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
(3) *Buddhakapāla* (Cordier, Lehu 7)	424	1652-1657
(4) *Mahāmāyā* (Cordier. Lehu 5)	425	1622-1648
(5) *Ārali* (Cordier, Lehu 7, last item)	426-427	1658
c. Vairocana.		
Catuḥpīṭha (Cordier, Lehu 4)	428-430	1607-1621
Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, Krodharāja, Acala (in Cordier, Lehu 24)	431-434	1782-1783
d. Rdo rje ñi ma (Vajraprabhā, i.e. Ratnasambhava).		
Vajrāmṛta (Cordier, Lehu 6)	435	1649-1651
e. Padma gar dbaṅ (Padmanarteśvara, i.e. Amitābha). (In Cordier, Lehu 9).		
Lokanātha	436	1750-1751
Tārā-Kurukullā	437	
f. Rta mchog (Paramāśva, i.e. Amoghasiddhi). (In Cordier, Lehu 9).		
Namastāre ekaviṃśati [3]	438	1683-1744 [4]
Vajrakīlaya	439	—
Mahākāla	440[15]	1752-1781
g. Vajradhara		
Yathābādhakhaṣana	441	
3. Father Tantras, under six groupings,		
a. Akṣobhya, through f. Vajradhara		
a. Akṣobhya		
Guhyasamāja (Cordier, Lehu 10).	442-451[16]	1784-1917
Vajrapāṇi (Cordier, Lehu 14)	454-464[17]	2147-2216
b. Vairocana		
Yamāri (Cordier, Lehu 11)	467-475, 478	1918-2089
c. Ratna-kula (lack ng).		
d. Padma-kula		

13. This is an extract from no. 726, 3rd chapter, listed among the Kriyā-Tantras. That work is the most important one among the Tantras of the Mother of the Padma kula. Its Sanskrit title *Sarvatathāgatamātṛtārādhakarmabhava-tantra*

14. Since the twenty-one forms of Tārā represent all the moods of the World Mother, the different forms undoubtedly take care of the bulk of these commentaries. However, it is possible that some of the numbers constitute commentaries on *Tārā-Kurukullā* under c. above. Furthermore, the general works nos. 1745-749 may have been placed immediately after the Tārā commentaries as generalities pertaining to those foregoing works.

15. And possibly also no. 4[illegible]6.

16. And possibly also nos. 452-453.

17. And possibly also no. 465.

	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	Derge Tanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)
Bhagavadekajaṭā (Cordier, Lehu 13).	476	2122-2146
e. Karma-kula (lacking).		
f. Vajradhara.		
Candraguhyatilaka	477	–
The Tanjur has moreover a section on generalities of the Anuttara-yoga-tantra, including the mystic songs of the Mahāsiddhas (Cordier, Lehu 15).		2217-2500
B. Yoga-Tantra		
1. The *mūla-tantra*.		
Tattvasaṃgraha, in four sections (*dum bu*).[18]	479	
2. Explanatory (*ākhya*) Tantras.		
Vajraśekhara, chiefly *thabs* (*upāya*)	480	
Paramādya, chiefly *śes rab* (*prajñā*).	487-488	
Others, chiefly *śes rab*:		
Vajramaṇḍalālaṃkāra, *Guhyātiguhyakāravyūha* and *Guhyamantilaka*.	490, 492-493	
Māyājāla[19]	466	
Commentaries on the *mūla* and explanatory Tantras (Cordier, Lehu 17)		2501-2531
Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti, as an explanatory Tantra (Cordier, Lehu 17)	360	2532-2622
3. *Cha mthun* Tantras.[20]		
Sarvarahasya, explanatory (*thabs*) of 1st section (Tathāgata-kula)	481	
Trailokyavijaya, explanatory (*thabs*) of 2nd section (Vajra-kula)	482	
Others, explanatory from *thabs* standpoint	483-486	
Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcaśatikā, and *Pañcaviṃśatikāprajñāpāramitāmukha*, explanatory from *śes rab* standpoint[21]	489, 491	

18. The four sections represent five Buddha families compressed into four groups. This Tantra is also first of the ones showing chiefly *thabs* (*upāya*).

19. The Māyājāla was not included by the Dzaya-paṇḍita under the Yoga-Tantra, but its commentaries (nos. 2513-2514) are among the commentaries on the *mūla* and explanatory Tantras. The work itself is located among the Anuttara-yoga-Tantras in the Derge Kanjur suggesting that its status was a matter of dispute among the Lamas.

20. A *Cha mthun* Tantra is one with materials arranged to go specifically with one or more sections of the basic Tantra. Explanatory Tantras that are not *Cha mthun* develop various topics of the basic Tantra without regard to the sectional divisions.

21. In particular, no. 491 goes with no. 490.

	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
Moreover, no. 488, above, can also be considered a *Cha mthun* Tantra for no. 487, and no. 487 can be considered a *Cha mthun* Tantra for the *mūlatantra*, no. 479.		
Commentaries on the *Cha mthun* or *Hphros pa* Tantras (Cordier, Lehu 18)		2623-2661
C. Caryā-Tantra		
1. Tathāgata-kula.		
Mahāvairocana[22]	494	
Acala-kalpa	495	
Commentaries on the Tathāgata-kula Tantras (Cordier, Lehu 19)		2662-2669
2. Padma-kula (lacking).		
3. Vajra-kula.		
Vajrapāṇy-abhiṣeka	496	
Aṣṭadevī-dhāraṇī	497	—
Others	498-501	
D. Kriyā-Tantra[23] (Cordier, Lehu 20)		(2670-3139)
1. Tathāgata-kula.		
a. Tantras of the Lord (*gtso bo*)	502-542	2694-2697, 3130-3139
b. Tantras of the Master (*bdag po*)	543-552	2674, 2701-2719
c. Tantras of the Mother (*yum*):		
Prajñāpāramitā (the *Aṣṭaśataka* and *Kauśika*)	553-554	—
Suvarṇaprabhāsottama	555-557	
Pañcarakṣā	558-563	2690-2693, 3117-3129
Mārīcī	564-566	—
Others	567-589	—
d. Tantras of the Uṣṇīṣa	590-603	2688-2689, 3068-3116

22. Apparently the last chapter is taken as an Uttara tantra (*phyi ma rgyud*).

23. As in the Caryā-Tantra there are three *lokottara* families, Tathāgata, Padma, and Vajra. In addition there are three *laukika* families, Māra, Pañcaka, and Laukika. Included among the Kriyā-Tantra are works of a general character (nos. 805-808) which give basic material that can be used by the higher Tantras (Caryā, etc.) as well. Finally, there is a division, often extracts from other works, of Pariṇāma and Pranidhāna.

	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
e. Tantras of Wrathful Deities (*khro bo*)		
Tantras of Male Wrathful Deities (*khro bo*)	604-611	(?) 3052
Tantras of Female Wrathful Deities (*khro mo*)	612-613	
f. Tantras of Messengers (*pho ña*)	614-630	
Tantras of Male and Female Obedient Ones (*bkaḥ ñan pho mo*) auxiliary to the Messengers	631-633	3059-3065
g. Bodhisattvas belonging to the family	634-644	
h. Gods, etc. of the Pure Abode	645-673	—
2. Padma-kula.		
a. Tantras of the Lord	674-680	2698-2700
b. Tantras of the Master	681-723	2720-2864
c. Tantras of the Mother	724-732	[24]
d. Tantras of the Wrathful Deities, Male and Female	733-736	3053-3058
e. Tantras of Obedient Ones, Male and Female	737-742	—
3. Vajra-kula.		
a. Tantras of the Lord	743	—
b. Tantras of the Master	744, 756 746-751	2675-2687, 2865-3049
c. Tantras of the Mother	752	—
d. Tantras of Wrathful Deities, Male and Female	753-755	—
e. Tantras of Male and Female Messengers and Obedient Ones	757-763	3050-3051
4. Worldly Families.		
a. Nor can (Maṇi)	764-771[25]	—
b. Lhas ṛtsen (Pañcaka)	772	—
c. Hjig ṛten pa (Laukika)	773-804	—
5. General Kriyā-Tantra		
Subāhuparipṛcchā	805	2671-2673
Sāmānyavidhānām guhya-tantra	806	—
Susiddhi	807	3066

24. While no commentaries on the Mother of the Padma-kula are included in Cordier Lebu 20, the Sādhana collection nos. 3645-3704 includes a large block of Tārā commentaries (nos. 3666-3696) which are probably Kriyā-Tantra works for the most part. Certainly the ones by Candragomin are Kriyā-Tantra.

25. However, nos. 766-767 are really one work in two *brtag pa* called *sha* and *phyi*.

	Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)	*Derge Tanjur* (Toh. Cat. nos.)
Dhyānottarapaṭalakrama	808	2670
6. *Yoṅs su bsṅo* and *Smon lam.*		
a. Yoṅs su bsṅo (*pariṇāma*).	809-810	
b. Smon lam (*praṇidhāna*)	811-827	—

The above ends the analysis of the Kanjur *Rgyud ḥbum* correlated to Tanjur exegesis. In addition the Tanjur has a section of generalities pertaining to all four Tantras.

	Derge Tanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)
Cordier, Lehu 21	
1. General on all four Tantras	
The *Vajrāvali*, *Niṣpannayogāvali*, and *Jyotirmañjarī*, by Abhayākaragupta	3140-3142
2. Sādhana collections.	
a. Pa-tshab sgrub thabs brgya rtsa	3.43-3304
b. Ba-ri sgrub thabs brgya rtsa	3306-3399
c. Sgrub thabs rgya mtsho	3400-3644
d. Lha so so sna tshogs kyi sgrub thabs	3645-3704
3. Preparation of maṇḍala.	3705-3706
Cordier, Lehu 22	
1. Distinctions among the 3 Yānas and 4 Tantras	3707-3720
2. Samaya and saṃvara (pledges and vows)	3721-3729
3. Cycle of Dharmapāla, Vasudeva, etc	3730-3755
Cordier, Lehu 23	
Miscellaneous, *cho ga*, etc	3756-3785
Cordier, Lehu 24	
Later translations.[26] In Derge Tanjur	3305

26. Most of these translations are not included in the Derge Kanjur. When they are, they have been incorporated in earlier sections, except for the one work now mentioned, no. 3305, which the Derge edition places between the Pa-tshab and Ba-ri *sādhana* collections. The title, *Vajrācāryakarmādhimoccaya*, gives no clue to the placement. It is a large work devoted, according to the title, to the duties of the Tantric Hierophant (*vajrācārya*) who explains the Tantras, initiates others, and so on.

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नई दिल्ली

CATALOGUED

Mahayan - Buddhism - Tantra.

Buddhism - Mahayan - Tantra

[illegible] - Mahayan - Tantra

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